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New Republic

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THE DEMOCRATS' DILEMMA:

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BATTLEFRONT IN PALESTINE
By I. F. STONE

15¢

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

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ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside, Myriam Wilson

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, James R. Newman, Richard Watts Jr.

WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Jan Hasbrouck. Helen Fuller (Political Editor)

DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Harold Clurman (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)

ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

RESEARCH: Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

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WASHINGTON WIRE

On the Truman Special Train

WITH THE RECORD Congress has made, Roosevelt could have knocked the GOP at this election into a cocked hat. The question is whether it is bad enough to give even Harry Truman a chance. Everybody else has given the fight up by proxy. Truman hasn't. With dogged determination, he is plugging ahead on this trip, giving good speeches with a poor delivery, winning friendliness but no enthusiasm. But he is drawing a sharp line between what he asked and what Congress granted, between mild liberalism and insolent reaction.

Call it anything you want, what we are getting from Congress now is isolationism. European radicals for some time have been fearful of United States "intervention." Personally we have always felt this to be ironic. With a century and a half of isolation tradition behind us, a revival of it sooner or later was bound to occur. It seems to have come now, with Stalin's removal of some of the tension by a "peace" offer, whether genuine or propaganda.

For the last couple of years the US has been doing the right things for the wrong reasons in foreign affairs. For example, it was hatred of Stalin that put through the Marshall Plan. But now that Stalin has provided a little breathing space, the House at once cuts the first year's ECA amount 26 percent. The Senate is bound to restore some of this money, maybe all, and Vandenberg will once again be the hero.

The fiction that Truman's trip is "non-political" lasted only until the back-platform address the second day, when the President was appealing for a Democratic Governor of Ohio and a more sympathetic legislature.

With an outdoor temperature of 92°, Truman emerged from his air-conditioned rear car to listen to the Central Catholic High School band play "Hail to the Chief" at Fort Wayne, Indiana. Then he set echoes ringing from the walls of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company building across the way as he challenged Congress to restore the slash in Marshall Plan funds. At Gary, he told the same Congress that it would rather listen to the National Association of Manufacturers than to the President on price control, and blamed it for high living costs.

At Chicago, Truman said what a lot of us wanted to say after the Stassen-Dewey Oregon debate over the Mundt bill. Dewey, you recall, favored the bill because it didn't outlaw communism, Stassen because it did. And Truman just said he didn't favor it. He opposed it, he said, because that wasn't the way to deal with communism—you can't stamp it out by driving it underground; you met it, if you were honest, by making the lot of the poor man better, by housing legislation, health legislation, social-security, education, anti-inflation legislation. And why didn't Congress get a move on?

Truman said this, and it was rousing stuff in type. He read his speech through thick lenses, hardly looking at his audience, and with never a gesture. Even so it was generally agreed among the 65 news and radio men aboard our train that for Truman he said it pretty well. Some of us listening to him, have to restrain ourselves all the time. This columnist found himself stressing words that Truman elided, pounding the press table at climaxes he missed.

There is a certain temperamental strain in traveling with Harry that must be acknowledged. A man who could have a spot like that in the huge Chicago Stadium, with a dramatic entrance, spotlights and a great band, and then not rise to the occasion, with the 25,000 audience and all, must be

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lacking in imagination. Truman did not botch the affair. There was a real note of earnestness and sincerity in his voice, but it was like listening to a well-meaning amateur church organist trying to play Chopin.

Pardon us, however, who have lived with the 80th Congress for two miserable years, if we give credit to the little man who is telling the public now just what he thinks of Congress. At Omaha, Nebraska, he had a few pertinent comments about the long-range farm program. "The Congress has considered it, and studied it, and weighed it, and pondered it," he observed, "but the Congress has not acted upon it."

Congress has been viciously anti-public power, too, and the West Coast and flood areas have given Truman a dramatic opportunity to show what its restrictions on the Interior Department's reclamation work and power projects have meant.

It is good that many of the things which Truman is saying should be said. The custom of a President's getting out and seeing the folks is an excellent one, and he is meeting signs of full respect for his office. Probably that isn't enough.

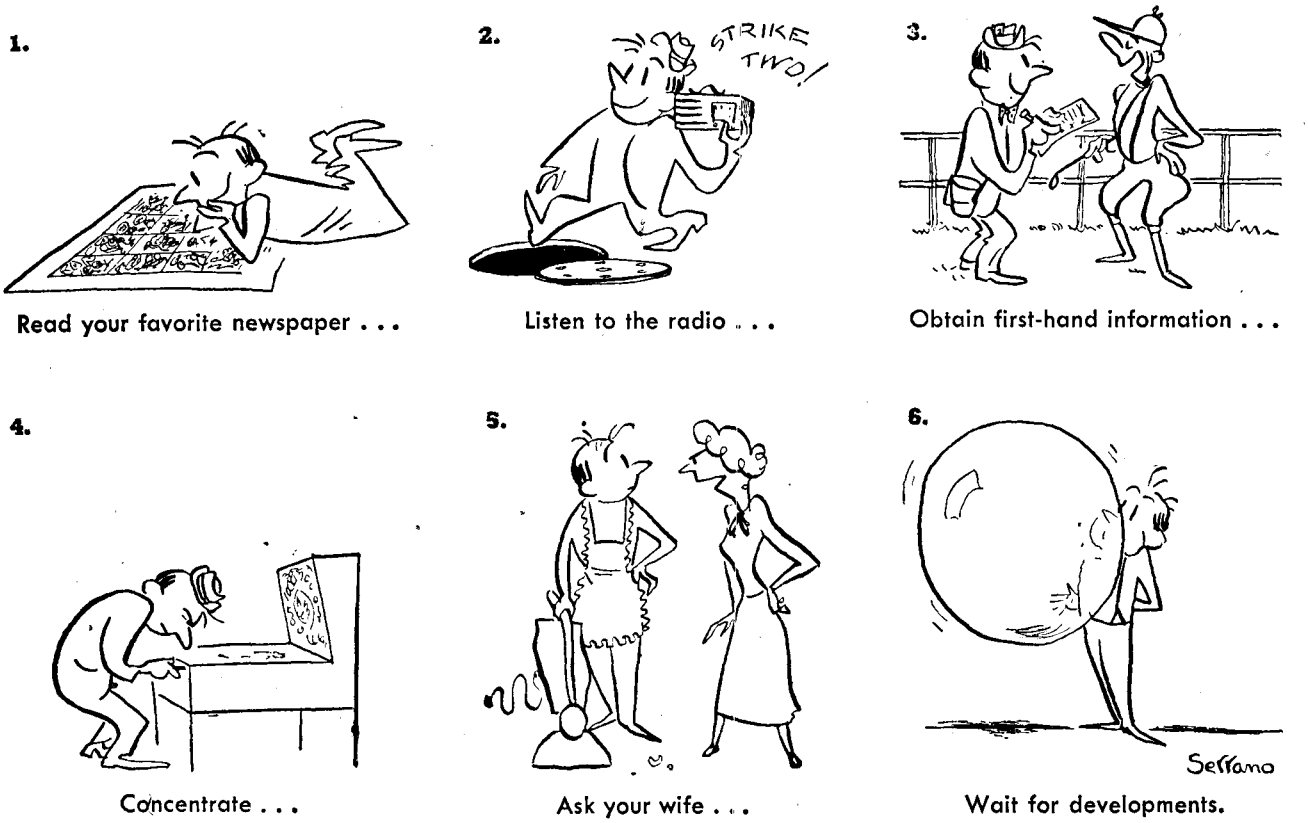
Truman's basic fault is, perhaps, that he hasn't enough enemies. He is trying to make some on this trip, but his principal antagonist still seems to be indifference. It is our painful duty to report that he has been received so far in his trip with something like a polite and friendly yawn. At Chicago, the Cook County boss, Jake Arvey, didn't join the party, indicating that his hostility is unquenched. The rush-hour crowds on the streets were apathetic.

But it was in Omaha that the blow really fell. Truman walked into an auditorium with 10,000 seats and not more than 2,000 persons. It was a brutal and chilling experience. Being inside the stream-lined functional Coliseum was like being inside an egg. The crowd was huddled in front with a few hundreds in a gallery on either side. We shall never forget the highlights on those acres of freshly polished, empty seats.

The stage management was dreadful—it was absurd to take Truman virtually out into the country on a Saturday night with a speech that anyone could have heard by radio at home. As reporters surveyed the place, an awful chill seemed to rise from it. Finally, the implacable motion-picture cameras from the perch above took notice.

The hearts of the members of the official party must have sunk as the spotlights were turned slowly and deliberately from Truman to the empty seats. Then the direction of the cameras was reversed and the scene rendered for posterity. As the mile-long parade moved back to the hotel, it felt like a funeral procession.

On the Truman Train T. R. B.



How to Form a Political Opinion

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New Republic

THE WEEK

WHO'S THE BOSS IN ECA?

Western European nations are trying to guess whether the center of ECA administrative power will be in Paul Hoffman's Washington office or in the Paris headquarters of Super-Ambassador W. Averell Harriman. Opinion in government circles in Washington is that they would prefer Harriman, with whom they are acquainted. It is noted that he has been sensible enough to see that revival of East-West European trade is vital to the Continent's recovery despite the indirect help it will give Soviet satellites.

But Hoffman will be in a position to balance Harriman with the authority that intimate congressional connections will give the Washington ECA headquarters. Having worked closely with congressmen in choosing his staff, Hoffman enjoys their confidence.

Until the matter of final authority is settled, the British are not deciding whether to locate their first-string ECA team in Paris or Washington. Their newly arrived Ambassador, Sir Oliver Franks, is a hedge against the chance that Hoffman's headquarters will be the center of ECA power. A key delegate to the Paris ERP conference, Sir Oliver later headed the delegation that came to Washington to help frame the Harriman and Krug reports.

Both Harriman and Hoffman are now choosing their staffs. The majority of appointees to date are men with government or diplomatic experience, though some, such as Langbourne Williams, president of Freeport Sulphur, have spent most of their lives in industry.

An indication of the difference between Hoffman and Harriman can be seen in the legal advisers they have chosen. Harriman picked Milton Katz, a Harvard law professor who served in the NRA and the SEC and later in the WPB. Hoffman, the ex-president of Studebaker Corporation, chose Alexander Henderson of the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore. Moore, himself a director of Studebaker, also is the brother-in-law of Henry Luce of Time, Inc. Hoffman recently chose a Time, Inc., vice-president, Charles Stillman, to head ECA activities in China, a part of the world dear to Luce's heart.

Thaw in the Cold War

VIENNA

UNDER THE JOINT occupation of the US, France, Britain and the USSR, the birth rate in Austria has reached a record high, *Oberosterreichische Nachrichten* reports. During 1947, there were 128,953 births in Austria, the highest number in 20 years.

At the same time, the Austrian Public Welfare Agency reports a record high in the number of illegitimate births in Upper Austria, where one child in four is registered as having been born out of wedlock. Upper Austria is occupied by the US Army.

FORECAST FOR NOVEMBER

If the national congressional elections in November follow the pattern of last week's California primaries, there will be almost no change in the total strength of the two parties in the 81st Congress. Primary results suggest the reëlection in California of eight of the 14 incumbent Republican Representatives and four of the nine incumbent Democrats. No incumbent in either party was defeated for nomination, but in general the voting indicated individual rather than party strength.

Helen Gahagan Douglas polled more than a 10-to-one majority in the Democratic primary, and won on the Republican ticket for the first time. Cecil King, George Miller and Chet Holifield, all of whom have good progressive voting records, made much better than average showings among the Democrats. Richard Welch and Richard Nixon, of Mundt-Nixon fame, won the same sort of approval from the Republicans.

Less than 50 percent of California's 4.6 million eligible voters went to the polls. Democratic voters exceed Republicans by three to two, but President Truman ran only slightly ahead of Governor Earl Warren on the statewide ballot, and the Republicans cast nearly half of the total vote.

California political writers say that many Democrats stayed away from the polls because they did not want to vote for Truman, the only candidate listed. But it was true that the Republican organization was in excellent condition, while the Democrats were poorly organized.

The primary offered no test of Wallace strength. His Independent Progressive Party, showing only 13,618 voters registered, has, however, put 17 candidates for Congress on the No-

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vember ballot. Governor Warren estimates that the IPP will poll 400,000 or more, and leading Democrats talk of a million.

GUNS AND INFLATION

The myopic House of Representatives, which has squandered precious days wrangling over oleomargarine and "Voice of America" scripts that injured local pride, agreed in less than two hours to spend $6.5 billion of its constituents' dollars on armaments.

Only six of the people's representatives spoke; no one tried to amend the bill; and not until the last moment was it decided even to record the vote. The score: 348 to 2. The dissidents were Vito Marcantonio and Leo Isacson, both ALP, New York.

Miserly in its appropriations for national resources development, social welfare and government civilian services, this GOP "economy" Congress has practically had to be restrained by the armed forces themselves from giving the Treasury to the soldiers, sailors and airmen.

The President's budget last January asked $10.9 billion for the armed services. They will get about $14.7 billion. In the year beginning July 1 the Navy will spend $4.7 billion ($4 billion last year), the Army $3.8 billion ($3.2 billion last year), and the Air Force $3.9 billion ($2.8 billion last year). About a half-billion will go for other military items.

Economists and businessmen have been giving a good deal of thought to what this expenditure will mean to an economy already producing less than people want and can pay for. It will mean diversion of men and materials to the production of things the consumer cannot buy. Employment will be even higher than the present record levels, with less goods to be had. The net result must be inflationary.

The consensus is that the inflationary effects will be delayed probably well into next year. Not all the money will actually be paid out in the next fiscal year, and the construction programs cannot really roll for a while. Furthermore, the draft, which would subtract about a half-million men from the labor force, appears to be postponed for the election year.

Pressure will be felt soon, however, in certain fields. The new program calls for more than 4,200 military airplanes. Thus the aircraft industry will strain the labor market and make demands on certain materials.

The Administration favors stand-by controls over materials, prices, manpower and wages. But the National Security Resources Board is believed to have told the President that the economy can absorb the armament shock unaided for at least 12 months. This, of course, is the Republican-big-business line, and the one which bids fair to dominate government for some time to come.

WHY BE JACKASSES?

WICHITA (NR correspondent)

If the Kansas Democrats' state convention here can be taken as a preview of the party's national show, Philadelphia is going to be a riot.

The convention was split wide open out of motives of pure opportunism. The uninhibited delegates shouted for hours over whether to instruct for Harry Truman.

It was not that the Kansas delegates were demonstrating their opposition to the President. They were merely expressing their uncertainty that Truman would be the party nominee. But if the Philadelphia convention picks Truman, Kansas Democrats will go along.

At one point in the convention a stampede for native-son Dwight D. Eisenhower was attempted. State Representative John McCormally, a 26-year-old Marine veteran whose arm was shattered at Iwo Jima, presented General Ike's name. This was the signal for 30 young men and women to seize Eisenhower banners and begin a 10-minute march behind a four-piece band. H. J. Yount, executive secretary of the state CIO, carried a banner in the Eisenhower parade.

However, the Democratic leaders and party potentates were not to be carried away. State Chairman D. C. ("Buzz") Hill jumped to his feet to move for instruction, shouting:

"Harry S. Truman has this nomination sewed up and in his left hand. Don't kid yourselves. And if he doesn't want the nomination, he is going to choose his successor. Why should we in Kansas make jackasses of ourselves by not going down the line for Harry S. Truman?"

Paul Aiken, Second Assistant Postmaster General and ranking Kansan in the Administration, was there to protect the President's interests. It was he who delivered the *coup de grâce* to the Eisenhower boomlet. He said a vote for the General or an uninstructed delegation "is a bunch of compromises." Then the vote was taken.

The result was a delegation instructed for Harry Truman by a margin of 12 votes—290 to 278. As a majority of the delegates will string along with the state and national party leaders who ramrodded the vote through, the unit rule will assure Truman of Kansas' 16 votes at Philadelphia for as long as he wants them.

CONGRESS VERSUS EUROPE

VIENNA (by Alexander Kendrick)

The International Socialist Congress —the Red Army newspaper, *Oestereiche Zeitung*, calls it the "Marshall International"—was spreading its support of the Marshall Plan on the record when news came to the *Herrengasse* of the House committee's 26-percent cut in funds. This meeting of

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17 Western Socialist delegations, including ones from the United States, Canada, Bizonia and Trieste, wilted visibly.

Then Morgan Phillips, the General Secretary of the British Labor Party and sparkplug of this conference, was suddenly called home, presumably in connection with the US congressional short circuit.

After his departure, the Socialist meeting never had a chance. It drew only 5,000 persons to a Saturday-afternoon rally at the Rathaus despite the presence of internationally known figures—this in Socialist Vienna where a similar street meeting at the last conference in 1931 attracted nearly 200,000 and where even today the Socialist Party polls 500,000 votes.

Aside from denouncing the "people's democracies" and seating the Saragat as against the Nenni Socialists from Italy, this conference didn't accomplish much, even in a propaganda sense. Its main problems, such as European coöperation with the Marshall Plan, socialization of the Ruhr and rationalization of European industry, have all been pretty much definitely decided either in the government coalitions to which the Socialists belong, or in three, five, six or sixteen-nation meetings. Its obvious Socialist participation in the various governments involved in these international conferences sharply limits the functions and possibilities of such an international party gathering as this one.

There was much talk here of a United States of Europe and of the dictatorship of totalitarianism and of police states. But nobody commented on the fact that the Greek Social Democrats, as usual, were not permitted by their government to be present here. An appeal from Palestine to the Jewish Socialist organization, the Poale Zion, to raise the question of supporting Israel was not even permitted to reach the floor.

Scarborough also cast its shadow over Vienna. Very few European Socialist Parties have reached the point where consolidation is more important than progress. Denis Healey seemed to be carried away at the Rathaus when he promised full nationalization of the British iron and steel industry "this year."

The importance of this Congress was that it formalized the now complete rupture between the Socialist Parties of Eastern and Western Europe. While the Western Socialists were meeting on the Danube, their excommunicated Eastern brothers were meeting on the Vistula. Each had harsh things to say about the other. Yet the official Congress slogan here in Vienna is "Europe—one, democratic, Socialist." That goal seems farther away than ever.

WHO AND US

After a year's delay, Congress is getting around to approval of US participation in the World Health Organization. It took a reassuring nod from the American Medical Association and several "safeguarding" amendments before Representative Leo Allen (R, Ill.), chairman of the Rules Committee, would allow the enabling bill already passed by the Senate to reach the House floor for a vote.

But the bill that passed the House on May 28, a weak, compromise affair, places a lid of $1.9 million a year on the US contribution to WHO and permits the US to withdraw on one year's notice. To date 31 nations, including the USSR, have officially deposited their ratifications. It remains to be seen if the conference committee of the Senate and Foreign Relations Committees can iron out their differences before the first World Health Assembly meets in Geneva on June 24.

DP DISCRIMINATION

The Senate's bill to admit displaced Europeans to the US is a classic model for discrimination against Jews. It provides that half of the 200,000 immigrants to be admitted during the next two years shall be displaced persons "whose place of origin or country of nationality has been annexed by a foreign power." Only the Balts, who are largely Protestant, can fit that classification.

Another provision, strongly opposed by Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.), requires that half of those admitted must be farm workers. This hurts those Jews who were not permitted to own land in the countries from which they fled. Other strings which have been attached to entry narrow the field even more.

Senate Republicans rejected an amendment offered by Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) which would have extended the date of eligibility for the victims of Nazi or Fascist aggression from December 22, 1945, to April 21, 1947. This would have qualified Jews who fled from Poland after 1945. But the Republicans had the support of Southern Democrats, who claimed, without offering any proof, that the amendment would permit the entrance of Communists, and the amendment went down, 49 to 29.

Germans whom Hitler used as his fifth column in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia and who were expelled from those countries after the Nazi defeat, could get on to the regular German and Austrian quotas, in spite of the fact that they would compete with anti-Hitler Germans.

The House can accept the Senate bill or take up its own measure, spon-

Housing on "Must" List

THE DEMOCRATS, led by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.), need only 70 more signatures on a petition to bring the Taft-Ellender-Wagner long-range-housing bill to the floor of the House for a vote. The Senate-passed measure has been bottled up in Representative Jesse Wolcott's (R, Mich.) Banking and Currency Committee.

Even Southern Democrats like Alabama's Frank Boykin and Sam Hobbs have joined the campaign. And, under pressure, Speaker Joseph Martin has added the measure to his "must" list slated for action in the next two weeks. The action came after Democratic leaders predicted that housing would be one of the principal issues of the presidential campaign.

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Gamble In Germany

INFORMAL TALKS on the future of Germany which delegates of the US, Britain, France and the Benelux countries have been holding in London since late in February, ended last week. A two-paragraph communiqué announced that the talks had "resulted in agreed recommendations over the whole field," to be submitted for approval to the governments concerned.

The meaning of this noncommittal statement was plain: under the leadership of the US, the Western powers have finally come to the definite decision to split Germany. Some sort of compromise has been reached on a federated political government for western Germany, on control of the Ruhr by the Western powers, on fusion of the French zone of occupation with the US and British zones, on integration of western Germany into ERP, and on guaranteed occupation by the Western powers until peace is secured. The US and Britain have yielded somewhat on the control of the Ruhr, and the French on the political organization of the new western German state.

Alone among the six nations involved, the US was quick to hail the results of the talks, the State Department commenting that the tentative accord "seems to offer the prospect of constructive achievement." The British cabinet also approved the result. But in Paris even strong supporters of US policy were worried about the possible effect of the London accord on the cold war between West and East.

The first of several disturbing possibilities to be feared is that a definite step by the West to split Germany will lead to dangerous Soviet retaliation. It was this prospect that led the European nations some time ago to ask military guarantees from the US.

But instead of giving such guarantees, the US is said to have offered to extend the time limit of US occupation. In Paris there is serious doubt that the presence of a couple of hundred thousand US soldiers on German soil, without a definite military pact backing them up, would make the difference between continued Soviet pressure and war.

Another consequence may be that the French people, fearing the bad effect of the London accord on France's national security, may turn the Schuman government out of office. In such an event, it is possible that Charles de Gaulle might come to power and put an end to the effort of the "third force" to steer a course between Right and Left.

In defense of the London agreement, the Bidault supporters argue that it forms part of the pattern of international accords of which the Marshall Plan, Western Union and the Brussels five-power defensive alliance are examples. Opponents maintain that, without a definite US military guarantee, this whole pattern would be worthless against strong Soviet retaliation.

Still a third effect of the accord, if it is ratified, will be a worsening of the US position inside Germany, since a definite splitting of that nation is intensely unpopular even in the western zones.

Many progressive Europeans would like to know exactly what the State Department means by a "prospect of constructive achievement." Though they share the US policy goal of Western European unity, they see in this prospective step a move not toward, but away from, unity. Though they are grateful for ERP, they feel that when the US backs a policy that may lead to war on Western European soil, it must foresee the possible consequences and face them by risking more than money.

sored by Frank Fellows (R, Me.), which has no geographical or ethnic priorities, but establishes priority on a basis of skills.

FRINGES AND WAGES

To counter labor's demands for a better share of the postwar boom, industry has been willing to try anything —except wage increases.

A survey by *Business Week* indicates that the most widespread alternative to higher pay has been "a large and fancy fringe on top," meaning any addition to a worker's compensation other than his actual take-home pay: vacations, holidays, bonuses, pensions or insurance. The American Management Association, for example, is agitating for profit-sharing trusts, with the worker's benefit pegged directly to his productivity. The automotive and aviation parts industry, according to *Business Week*, pays each worker a total of $245 a year in fringe payments. The US Department of Commerce estimates that these supplementary payments have increased from 1.2 percent of the total wage bill in 1929 to 4.8 percent in 1946. *Business Week* estimates that the figure is 10 percent of the total national payroll.

Explaining the preference of employers for fringe concessions, *Business Week* points out: "They are easier to remove if and when deflation makes that necessary." Industrial-relations counselors prefer the "fringe" approach, for reasons of their own. They point to opinion surveys which put higher wages far down on any list of workers' grievances. Higher-ranking in the worker's concern, it seems, are such things as "the interest the company takes in the individual."

Whatever the pollsters and counselors think, it is clear from the present wave of strikes that wages are the thing labor is angriest about. The coal stoppage was an exception. The demands of bus workers in New York, the packinghouse workers' strike, the railroad, electrical and automobile disputes involved straight wage questions.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

The Mundt Bill Fight

AT COOS BAY, western Oregon, word came to me that the Republicans were doing their best to railroad the Mundt bill through the Senate. Only three days of hearings were to be allowed for the consideration of the most subversive legislation ever seriously proposed in the United States Congress. I hated the thought of flying an extra 5,000 miles in three or four days in order to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee. But the more I thought about it, the more certain I became that it was absolutely vital to go to Washington at once.

On the plane I studied the bill intensively. As I did so, it became clear to me that if the Mundt bill is enacted, freedom of thought in the United States will so decay that the growing point of future civilization is likely to be transferred to some other nation. More and more, the creative forces of mankind dry up, not merely in politics but also in culture and science, as the sickness of fear enters into every human heart.

Entering the Senate Office Building, I couldn't help reflecting that less than four years ago, as Vice President, I had held office there with many of the same men before whom I would now be appearing.

The heart of my testimony was to express my utter conviction that in so far as Communist activity may be directed against the United States Government, we already have adequate legislation in the form of the Smith Act, the Vorys Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and various other acts dealing with espionage, treason, sabotage and conspiracy. I also drove home my conviction that Mundt and Nixon are more interested in devising legislation to intimidate liberals than they are in putting Communists in jail because they have done something to overthrow the government. The Attorney General had testified before the Un-American Activities Committee, on February 5, 1948, that there was no legal proof that the Communist Party or the Communist-front organizations had engaged in any activities designed to overthrow the government or to transgress the various statutes having to do with espionage, conspiracy or sabotage.

The Mundt Bill is almost solely concerned with preventing freedom of speech or political activity by individuals and groups in the United States who are fighting monopoly at home and the threat of war abroad.

As soon as I finished my testimony, Senator Wiley wanted to know whether I didn't think all of the charges listed in Section II of the bill about worldwide Communist conspiracy to dominate the world were true and that something ought to be done about it. I told the Senator that I didn't know how many of the things cited in the legislation were true, but even if all of them were, we now have effective legislation to deal with them, in so far as they are in the field of action. If we attempt to deal with them in the field of thought and the expression of opinion, we shall certainly transgress the Bill of Rights and interfere with the free expression of ideas. I said flatly:

> The victim of this bill would not be communism but democracy; not the ideas of Karl Marx but the ideas of Jefferson and Madison; not the advocacy of violent revolution but the advocacy of the principles on which our government was established and in defense of which our people have engaged in three bloody wars.

Senator Eastland first asked some questions which he put on behalf of Senator Magnuson of the state of Washington. The object of Magnuson's questions was to make it appear that I had changed my mind with regard to communism and had abandoned—which of course I have not—my unswerving support of intelligently operated private capitalism. It was easy to answer Magnuson's questions. The fact that he asked them, however, seemed to me to confirm what some of his constituents had said to me a few days earlier in the state of Washington. This was that Senator Magnuson now seems to be more interested in fighting communism than in fighting for the preservation of American liberty. In spite of his curious performance, I still think he will vote against the Mundt bill. The question is whether he will fight hard.

After having served as a messenger for Magnuson, Eastland wanted to know if I thought the Mundt bill would outlaw the New Party. I countered by asking him his opinion on the subject, and I added that the phraseology of the bill is so loose it is conceivable that a broad interpretation might make the New Party subject to its terms and every member subject to jail and a fine. I said this because I am in favor of peace and Stalin is in favor of peace, and everyone now knows it, because of my open letter to him. No Senator would respond to my challenge as to whether the New Party came under the terms of the bill.

Eastland tried to make it appear that the New Party was inspired by Jacques Duclos when he saw me in Paris a year ago last April. I told Eastland that I had seen many people in Paris, of varying political views from far Left to far Right, as I fully reported in an article in the *New Republic* of May 12, 1947. I saw Duclos only when he visited me as one of the members of a delegation. In the course of our conversation, the Frenchmen present expressed fear that President Tru-

(Continued on page 27)

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THE DEMOCRATS' DILEMMA

Within a few weeks, the stage will be set for the 1948 elections, the first in 16 years which will be fought with the Roosevelt legacy in place of Roosevelt's vision, voice and will.

That legacy Roosevelt clearly outlined. He said:

"In a system of party government such as ours, elections become meaningless when the two major parties have no differences other than their labels. . . . My own party can succeed only so long as it continues to be the party of militant liberalism."

By those words, Harry Truman is disqualified from inheriting the Roosevelt tradition. Yet he claims 581 first-ballot votes. The liberal Democrats, who once supplied the principles and ideas to the Roosevelt coalition and left the politics to others, have been forced into politics in their search for the new leadership which can save the Democratic Party. They are now close to the end of the road.

On the ultimate nature of leadership, all liberals will endorse the words of Justice William O. Douglas, reprinted below. But every President must be a practical politician. Is idealism the most practical form of politics in 1948? Should liberals stick to a man of known convictions or push a vote-getting personality? Stressing power, should they seek to win by compromising on issues, or, stressing principle, be ready to lose on a winning faith that future years will vindicate and reaffirm?

DOUGLAS: ISSUE OF PRINCIPLE

by Helen Fuller

THE LIBERALS who choose not to support Henry Wallace and the New Party are still far from clear about whom they are for or what they should be doing about it. Some have buried themselves in their gardens and their books until a better day. Some, with government jobs or patronage to protect, are feebly trying to justify going along with another term for Truman. Most of them talk wistfully over their dinner tables about how nice it would be . . . "if we had a candidate." They mean on the Democratic ticket. The most active among them are either talking for Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas or working for General Ike Eisenhower.

Douglas is probably the only man being mentioned for the Democratic nomination who would be acceptable to almost all groups left of center. The fact that organized support for Douglas in the Democratic convention is almost non-existent is indication enough of just what evil days liberals have fallen on politically. Bill Douglas' friends have been booming him for some office or other as long as the mind of New Deal man can remember. Unfortunately for his chances, his leading boosters, though ardent, have never been organization men.

There are 192 Douglas Clubs, and there is a national "Democrats for Douglas" organization, launched little more than a month ago by a Professor Dodge and some of his colleagues at the University of Michigan. Former brain-truster Tom Corcoran, former Interior Undersecretary Abe Fortas, former Price Administrator Paul Porter and former Interior Secretary Harold Ickes continue to meet in Washington, as they have been doing off and on since 1940, to plan how to make Bill Douglas President. Gael Sullivan has lately been contributing his excellent brains to the Douglas drive.

But the only solid political capital Douglas can point to today is two delegates to the Democratic National Convention from Oregon and a total of 6,500 "write-in" votes for the vice-presidential spot from the same state. The prospects for more delegates are very slight.

However, Douglas' loyal supporters say that they are not discouraged by this small total. If the Eisenhower boom continues to grow in the Democratic Party, they argue, Truman will be put out of the running whether or not Ike finally agrees to run. If Eisenhower at last definitely declines, Douglas will be the logical legatee as they see it, and that is what they are shooting for. With Speaker Sam Rayburn as Vice President on a Douglas ticket, they feel that a large part of the Southern "revolt" states could be swung to the Justice.

The most visionary of the visionaries around Douglas believe that they can come up with another powerful ace in the hole. They do not see how Henry Wallace could possibly continue in the race for the presidency if Justice Douglas were the Democratic nominee. They believe that, at the proper moment, they may be able to persuade Wallace to say so.

All of this is the thinking and planning of men more experienced in palace politics than in dealings with local party bosses and the powers-that-be in national conventions. The leading Democratic politicians who have been approached by the Douglas enthusiasts have refused to become involved, on the ground that there is no apparent basis for the belief that Wallace would withdraw in favor of Douglas, and absolutely no guarantee that, if nominated, Douglas could win.

Although many labor leaders think highly of Douglas' record, not even the CIO thinks enough of his chances to try to improve them. The anti-New Party leaders in the CIO, together

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with most of the independent liberals who have not followed Wallace, have wavered between apathy and vigorous action in support of Eisenhower. In recent months, officials of the CIO-PAC and the Americans for Democratic Action have been working as closely as they were allowed with the Democratic politicians who started the Eisenhower-on-the-Democratic-ticket idea. These politicians, however, are exceedingly wary of admitting to their inner councils a bunch of liberals who might suddenly decide that Eisenhower was not progressive enough.

But the CIO-PAC and the ADA are determined to be for Eisenhower before Philadelphia whether or not the politicians like it. The ADA has worked hard to get the close to 100 delegates it will have in the Democratic convention. The CIO-PAC expects to have 70-odd delegates of its own. The leaders of both groups frankly admit that they know almost nothing about Eisenhower's basic views —and have no idea at all what kind of President he would make. They are perhaps even more concerned about the kind of Congress we will have next January than about the kind of President who is elected.

Unless Truman shows a sudden rise in popularity in the next month, the same kind of anomalous political combination that was the New Deal may unite to replace Truman with Eisenhower at Philadelphia. The common motive would be to win. The combination would be: the big-city Democratic bosses, the South, and that part of organized labor, farmers, the independent progressives and the minority groups which believes in working for political progress through the two old-party organizations. None of those who are seriously engaged in building this new coalition has definite assurance from Eisenhower that he will accept their draft—if they are able to pull it off. But neither do they have any reason to believe that he will put any insuperable obstacle in their way between now and July 12, when the convention meets.

Harry Truman's major support to-

Liberal Leadership

by William O. Douglas

The task of liberal leadership is to unify a people in their best interest and to gather behind government the constructive energy that democracy is able to generate.

What were the qualities, shared by two or three men in our history, which gave Franklin Roosevelt the capacity to fulfil this task with such surpassing skill? The answer lies close to the heart of our problems, for, more than ever before, those qualities are needed today.

DRAWING BY DOLBIN

In a speech, lasting two minutes, delivered on Memorial Day at Roosevelt's grave, Justice Douglas asked these questions and, in answering, gave not only his tribute to Roosevelt's unique ability, but his interpretation of the essential quality of the liberal leadership which is lacking today.

He said:

THE HEMLOCK HEDGE that surrounds this plot sets it apart as a quiet place of meditation, consecrated to earth and sky. It is a shrine for ordinary people the world around. Here they will come to make their pilgrimage and to bow their heads in thanks that the mind and heart of Franklin D. Roosevelt were dedicated to humanity.

The men and women who come here will recapture for a moment the precious sense of belonging that Roosevelt gave them. The sense of belonging is important to man. The feeling that he is accepted and a part of the community or the nation is as important as the feeling that he is a member of a family. He does not belong if he has a second-class citizenship. When he feels he does not belong, he is not eager to assume responsibilities of citizenship. Being unanchored, he is easy prey to divisive influences that are designed to tear a nation apart or to woo it to a foreign ideology.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, like no other public figure in our history, was alive to this fact. And he knew how to fashion from it a positive and cohesive force in American life. He was in a very special sense the people's President, because he made them feel that with him in the White House they shared the presidency. The sense of sharing the presidency gave even the most humble citizen a lively sense of belonging, a keen feeling that he was an important part of a vital and vibrant system.

Roosevelt was acutely aware of the sorrows, perplexities, burdens and fears of the common man.

By his conquest of suffering and despair he removed forever from the American vocabulary the words "handicapped person." Moreover, he had a great appetite for ideas—and none was too startling or explosive to be unwelcome. He was a magnet for new ideas. Hence they flowed in from all sections of the country. His quick perception and sixth sense also drew from the minds of people ideas which the authors themselves had not yet matured. Thus did Franklin D. Roosevelt draw upon the energies and enthusiasms of the common people. Thus did they in fact as well as in feeling share the experience of leadership. As a result, no enterprise in history had more partners than his great crusade to make crusading practical.

So it was that men and women from every walk of life felt they were members of a great family. So it was that they wept when he died. And so it is that they will come to this shrine as long as America lives and here in the solitude of this grave pray for strength. For they know from the life and works of him who sleeps here that faith and love can work miracles—that faith and love can make even the lowliest of men noble.

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day lies in the Republican and New Parties.

The fondest hope of the leaders of both is that he will be nominated. Without him, both will suffer. Only a small group of old-line regulars in his own party really want Truman to head the Democratic ticket again. If there were any great degree of political unity on the Left, the making of a new coalition would be a rather simple matter.

EISENHOWER: ISSUE OF POWER

by Dale Kramer

THE GREAT, unanswered questions of the 1948 political campaign revolve around the smiling figure of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Will the Democratic National Convention offer him the nomination? Will he accept? Is he really a liberal? Could he be elected?

Republicans, already on their way to Philadelphia, are still assuming that the man they have to beat, and can beat with barely an effort, is Harry Truman. Yet Eisenhower's name echoes in their sleep and is causing some of them to talk of placing him in the Republican nomination as a means of forcing his final and absolute withdrawal from the race.

The Democrats, soon to follow the Republicans to Philadelphia, are saving all their strength for the 12 to 15 days between the two conventions. In those days, if a strong Republican candidate has been named, some powerful Democrats still believe that they can force Truman out, and push Eisenhower in.

Yet Eisenhower is not a candidate, not a politician, not even a party man. Beneath the turmoil of his name is simply the groundswell of American public opinion. He has consistently led Gallup polls. The June *Fortune* survey named him the people's first choice for the presidency, favored by 18 percent of the Republicans, 29 percent of the Democrats, and 24 percent of the independents. Following in order were MacArthur, Dewey and Truman, and, in eighth place, Henry Wallace.

Dale Kramer is a regular New Republic contributor. His article on Stassen (the NR, April 19) was widely discussed.

What has caused this confidence in Eisenhower? Will it be sustained if he runs?

To find some of the answers to the riddle of Eisenhower, this reporter disappeared recently into the clouds of gossip and hopes that surround the former General of the Army.

Looking for the answers involved talking with three broad groups of people. First were the liberals who are trying to make the Eisenhower boom irresistible. The second group included the General's prewar Army comrades, wartime associates and men who had worked intimately with him since V-J Day. The final group was made up of the professionals who can make or break the proposed Eisenhower draft at the Democratic convention.

Is He a Liberal?

The aura of greatness, humanity and liberalism that today surrounds Eisenhower originated in his war leadership. Admirers have pointed to the modesty and broad scope of his speeches. Here is none of the implied arrogance of General MacArthur's famous "I have returned." Eisenhower had this to say: "The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in humble acknowledgment that, no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is a symbol of the great humane forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause."

At one time or another he has said (about the possibility of another war), "Such talk is more than foolish; it is vicious"; (the UN) "Never let any man for one second forget his own responsibility to support, defend, the idea that eventually justice and right can supplant dictatorship and force"; (housing) "Any country that poured out the stuff that this country did in the war can build enough houses to take care of the veterans who fought it."

In addition to his speeches, Eisenhower's warm smile and democratic behavior have helped to create the glow of humanity and liberalism that his personality exudes. There was the time when, after delivering a pep talk to a small group of tired and muddy combat troops, he turned to leave and took a sensational pratfall. He came up with a grin and remarked that if he could get around fast enough and take enough pratfalls the morale of the whole army would benefit. A photograph of him standing with hands in pockets while talking with GI's won the hearts of thousands when it appeared in *Yank, the Army Weekly.*

But popularity among troops, high-sounding speeches and small, democratic acts do not necessarily add up to liberalism. One of the most popular generals in the Pacific was Hanford MacNider, commander of the rough and tough regimental combat team known as the Bushmasters. MacNider drove his own jeep, exposed himself to gunfire when he didn't have to, and applied the personal touch. Yet MacNider is a political reactionary and was a rabid America Firster.

Neither do the fine Americanisms culled from Eisenhower's speeches add up to liberalism. Eisenhower, like most busy men, had his speeches ghosted.

His colleagues do not consider him a hard man to write a speech for. War Department policy makers never had to wrestle with him over bluntness, as with Patton or Stilwell. Generalizations would do. The speeches have a good "feel," but they offer no real evidence whether he stands Left, Right or Center on major issues. Nor did conversations with associates of prewar days indicate that he had, at that time, formulated a political philosophy.

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Eisenhower is remembered as a soldier of fairly typical outlook, working hard to succeed in his profession. He possessed the extrovert's capacity for concentration. His smile was as sunny then, as now, and he had a natural dignity that did not require the pushing around of subordinates. He showed the proper respect for superiors and carried out orders with complete good nature.

In his personal life he was again typically Army. Friends in the service remember the Eisenhowers (the day he was promoted to first lieutenant he was married to Mamie Doud, a Boone, Iowa, girl) as leading the usual Army life. That meant bridge, golf, swimming and dinner parties. Their friends were fun-loving people. When Eisenhower recently went off on a vacation with George Allen, political friend of President Truman, Eisenhower's Army associates doubted any political significance. Mrs. Eisenhower had lived with the Allens for a short while during the war. "George is just the kind of a fellow Ike gets a kick out of," friends say.

Until World War II began, Eisenhower could look forward to ending his career in all probability as a colonel. He was a major for 16 years, and as late as 1943 his permanent rank was lieutenant colonel. The requirements of the career which ordinarily would have stretched before him were narrow. There was little incentive to read heavy books or study the social strata around him. His associates, off the Army post, were mainly professional people. One old acquaintance told me: "Eisenhower had the social outlook of a reasonably successful professional man wrapped up in his work."

The war problems that Eisenhower faced and solved naturally broadened him. There is evidence that he gave part of his limited spare time to study of the world's social problems. But while his grasp of any subject he tackles is enormous, he could hardly have been expected to beat a social philosophy into shape and at the same time command the greatest fighting force ever assembled. Since V-J Day, between his duties as Chief of Staff and writing his memoirs, he has had little spare time for contemplation. If he runs, his opponents will ask him, not: Are you for or against the Taft-Hartley Act, but: Do you know what the Taft-Hartley Act is?

The conclusion that Eisenhower holds no strong social convictions is supported by those who have had a chance to sound him out since the war. One thoughtful associate advised this reporter: "Just write down 'man of good will,' and you've got your story on Ike's social philosophy." But the preponderant opinion is that Eisenhower's reactions to social problems are on the conservative rather than the liberal side. "Ike is temperamentally better suited to the atmosphere of the Republican Party; he would never be happy with a New Deal coalition such as Roosevelt had," one of his friends said.

Some men who know Eisenhower well would not be surprised if his memoirs when published next fall (and these he wrote himself) show, at least between the lines, a closer temperamental affinity with Churchill than Roosevelt. Not long ago Walter Lippmann wrote that "it is a fair assumption" that except in the unlikely event that Eisenhower is a candidate himself, he will indicate his preference for Vandenberg, if anyone.

Can He Be Drafted?

In public, the most vocal Eisenhower boosters are liberals who are either members of Americans for Democratic Action or in that general pattern of thought. Both the Draft Eisenhower and the Veterans for Eisenhower groups appear to be unofficial offshoots of the ADA. The ADA itself has distributed "Draft Eisenhower and Douglas" campaign buttons, prepared leaflets containing excerpts from Eisenhower's speeches, and generally beat whatever drums it could lay hands on. Chester Bowles, an ADA member, recently circulated among congressmen trying out the "How About Eisenhower?" idea. An attempt to form a broad group including congressmen, the ADA and other liberal organizations to boost Eisenhower has not yet been successful. CIO-PAC has quietly promoted the plan, but labor's drive for Eisenhower has been deliberately slowed down in order to keep the movement more broadly representative.

The Democratic politicians who really count now are not much concerned about the General's views. What they want is a winning candidate who will carry aldermen, sheriffs and probate judges to victory and keep the federal patronage pipeline open. They also want to reëlect a Democratic Congress. These are the men who may move in the two weeks between conventions. To be successful they must

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persuade Truman to step down, or they must prevent Truman's nomination on the first ballot by nominating a series of favorite sons, or they must stampede the convention for Eisenhower when Alabama starts the roll call.

The second of these choices is the most probable, although some who believe Truman's try will be a failure, still hope for the first. ("Remember, I'm a delegate-at-large from Missouri.") Truman has been fond of telling recent visitors, "I'll vote for myself if I'm the last —— who does!"

The greatest unknown remains Eisenhower himself. He has been under great pressure from the stream of earnest people who pound his desk and plead that it is his patriotic and humanitarian duty to be President. The faith of the rank and file as demonstrated in the public-opinion polls moves him deeply.

Observers and intimates agree, moreover, that plenty of presidential smoke exists within him, whether or not fire actually breaks out. He is a man of tremendous physical and mental vigor. At 57 Eisenhower is eight years younger than was Winston Churchill when the wartime leadership of the British Empire was placed in his hands. "Ike will never again be happy off the big stage," one old associate declared.

Against the possibility of his acceptance is Eisenhower's honest conviction, eloquently stated, that a purely military background handicaps a man for the presidency. No great international crisis has developed to force his draft, certainly none that his friend, Arthur Vandenberg, is not equipped to handle. He can hardly avoid noting that while General MacArthur stands second to himself in the polls, the voters of Wisconsin and Nebraska did not mark their ballots accordingly.

Today Eisenhower holds a place almost unique in the hearts of the American people. Unless he can be convinced that the national welfare calls for his presence in the White House, he will think hard before risking a step down to the role of also-ran.

AGAINST ALL RULES

Morale triumphs in Israel over superior weapons, greater numbers and stronger position. The Jewish communities refute war's tradition

by I. F. Stone

TEL AVIV

By ALL THE RULES of strategy, that portion of Jewish Palestine most in danger of invasion and conquest is its northeast frontier. A finger of eastern Galilee fewer than ten miles wide extends northward into a narrow vise between Syria and Lebanon, waiting to be pinched off. To the south lies a lonely little line of Jewish settlements extending south of the Sea of Galilee and east to the River Jordan for some six miles of subtropical, below-sea-level heat, to the confluence of the Yarmuk and the Jordan. This area is open to attack from both Syria and Trans-Jordan.

Even the Negev settlements in southern Palestine are less open to invasion, for they are separated from Egypt by the Sinai and Negev Deserts, and protected by a lack of east-west roads and a dearth of Arab settlements below the Beersheba-Gaza line.

When the present fighting began, 7,000 Jews lived in eastern Galilee, scattered throughout 29 farm settlements and the city of Safad. Mingled with them were from 35,000 to 40,000 Arabs. Jewish settlements east of the Jordan and below the Sea of Galilee were sheltered by no natural defenses and seemed to be obvious targets for attack.

I have just returned from a trip to this northeast-frontier area. What I saw and heard may make it easier for Americans to understand that Jewish Palestine, on the eve of new cease-fire efforts by the UN Security Council, is confident of victory and not at all anxious for a truce.

It is obvious that the American arms embargo imposes terrible penalties on the Jewish fighters.

However, Palestine Jews have learned that much can be done by substituting pure nerve for the lack of weapons. After the victories of Galilee and the Jordan Valley, they are convinced they can repeat in the north their triumphs against the Egyptians in the south and the Arab Legion with its British officers in central Palestine.

Last Friday I descended from the lower Galilean highlands, carpeted with cornflowers and poppies, past the wide blue expanse of the Sea of Galilee, sharply down into the Jordan Valley, lush with tropical palms and wide-leafed banana groves. As I did so, I found myself entering an area securely under Jewish control.

In two days I was able to hitchhike from Afikim, south of the Sea of Galilee, up its western shore through ancient Tiberius, with its Roman ruins and pious, fur-hatted Jews. My journey took me through Rosh Pinna into "the finger," and through the western mountains along the Lebanese border to that eagle's-nest colony, Manara, high in northern Galilee.

Arab sections of the cities of Tiberius and Safad are empty. A few homeless dogs and chickens that poke hopefully between desolate mud walls are the only signs of life in the deserted streets. The one exception is the Arab town which made an alliance with the Jews.

The last Arab position in Galilee was the stronghold of Malikiyah, just this side of the Lebanese border. It is of crucial strategic importance, for it commands the road south into the Arab towns of the central Galilee-Nazareth district and westward to Acre. Its loss leaves the Lebanese only two ways to attack Jewish Palestine in force. One way leads down the narrow

I. F. Stone, chief of the Washington Bureau of the New York newspaper PM, is covering the birth of the new state of Israel for PM and the New Republic. This is his fourth trip to Palestine since the war.

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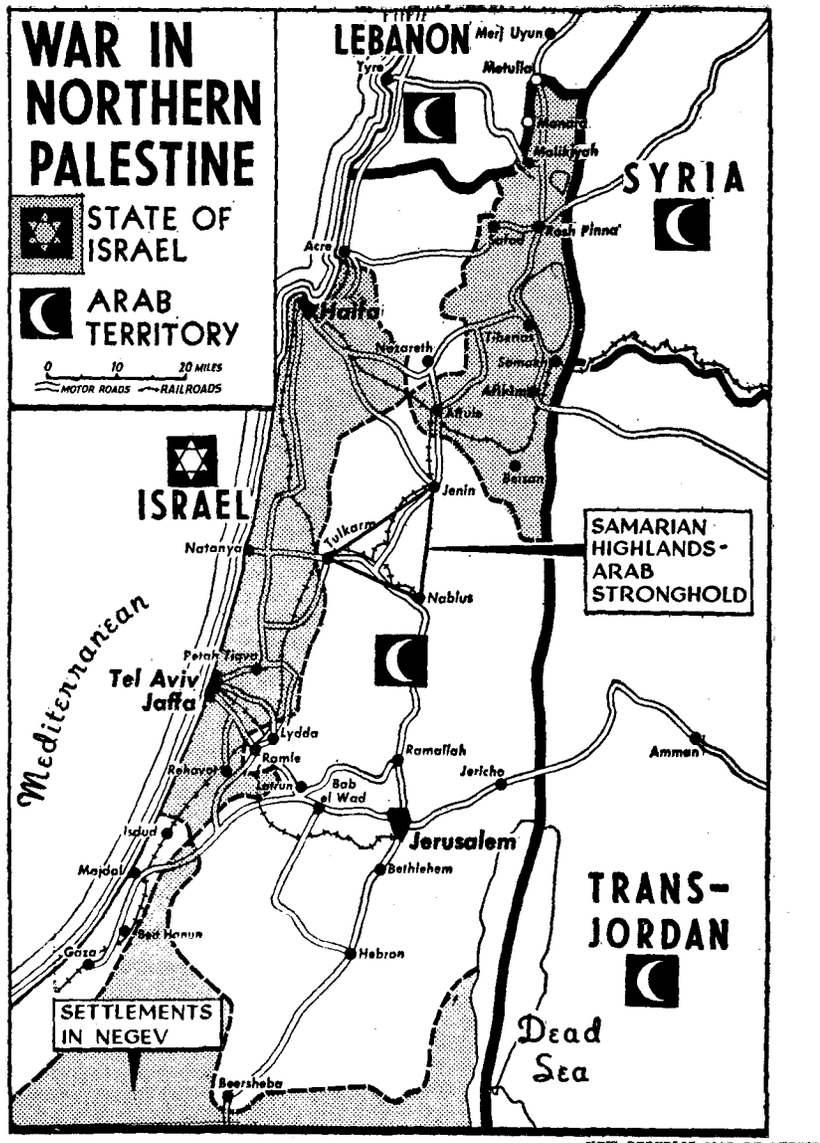
coastal road into Jewish-held western Galilee. The other is via the far north, through Metullah, and down "the finger," where an invading army would face ambush, sniping, crossfire and mines, with Jewish settlements guarding both sides of the road.

The battle at Malikiyah deserves to become a classic model of semi-partisan warfare. It illustrates brilliantly the methods that have enabled a small number of Jews to defeat Arab forces many times their size. Like most Jewish attacks, it was carried on at night. The Arabs do little night fighting. The Jews achieved surprise, possible in a country of few roads and rugged mountains, by climbing a trackless mountainside during the night to make a flank attack. The Lebanese forces were lured forward by a small convoy, riding back and forth all night near the road on the Palestine side. The main push, however, came from the rear.

This attack, which decided the battle, was made by a Jewish armored column which came down unexpectedly from the north. Traveling over Lebanese territory, it slipped through one sleeping village undetected. It then fought its way through a second village and turned to the west, deeper into Lebanon, to smash a Lebanese armored column which was moving supplies toward the battle. The Jewish column then turned eastward across the Palestine border, and attacked Malikiyah from the rear. The Lebanese were put to flight in a four-hour battle.

This complete mopping up of the northeast-frontier area was possible only because the youthful Haganah command had the nerve to make a fundamental decision. Their decision was to husband the meager resources for the prosecution of a definite plan, a campaign maintaining the initiative in Jewish hands. It was made in the face of frantic pleas to disperse small forces and scarce arms among colonies under attack. The cold decision in turn was successful for only two reasons: the colonists stood up under terrific shelling and bombing attacks, and the Arab attackers, though well-supplied with material by the British, and with all



NEW REPUBLIC MAP BY LEBOIT

but one of the police fortresses of the area in their hands at the start, showed little stomach for fight at the crucial moment.

Traveling through this frontier area and talking with colonists and soldiers, one is amazed at the hair's breadth which saved the exposed and ill-defended Jewish colonies from annihilation. At Ramat Naftali, the Jewish citadel settlement high up on the Lebanese frontier, the battered defenders were using the last of their ammunition when the attack ebbed.

Timidity characterized the Arab Legion attack on the isolated settlement of Gesher on the west side of the Jordan below Yarmuk. There the Legion brought up cannon, armored cars, tanks and planes and concentrated their murderous fire-power on the colony's half a hundred members. There was only one shelter, supplemented by slit trenches. The attack began Saturday. Not one building in the colony escaped damage. Late Wednesday night the children and wounded were evacuated in a long, terrible trek over the pathless highlands to the western colony. There weren't even enough stretchers to carry the wounded.

The defenders, haggard with weariness, were given an ultimatum to surrender in 24 hours. But when the deadline arrived with no answer from the Jews, the Arab Legion marched off.

The profound and passionate patriotism of the Yishuv showed military impact even in the case of so old-fashioned a religious community as that of Safad, which antedates mod-

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ern Zionism by many generations. The Jews of Safad suffered pogroms in the European and Oriental style in 1921, 1929 and 1936. Safad's 1,500 Jews were outnumbered by its 12,000 Arabs.

During April the British handed the Arabs the police fortress, military strong points and the citadel in the center of the city. They told the Jews that the Arabs would kill them, and offered buses and cars for their evacuation. The Arabs added the final touch to the war of nerves by telling the Jewish leaders that the Jews could stay in peace if they drove away the Haganah and surrendered all their arms. But in the final battle for Safad it was the Arabs, not the Jews, who ran away.

They abandoned the Mount Canaan police fortress without a fight when the Haganah took the village of Akbara south of the city in a successful bluff at encirclement. The morale factor is even more obvious in the frontier settlements. The collectives and the cooperatives proved themselves in war a source of military strength, as the Yishuvim in peace were the chief source of spiritual strength, by providing bases for the troops and bastions against invasion. I know these are solemn words and may sound incredible to people fed poppycock by Arab and English sources on the radio and in the press abroad, but any visitor to the Jordan Valley front must be impressed by the contrast between the abandoned ruins on the Arab side and the battered but living colonies on the Jewish side.

Samakh changed hands three times in the course of the battles deciding the fate of the upper Jordan Valley. The British left the police station, April 27, and the Arabs took over. The Jews attacked with one armored car, which raked the station with machine-gun fire. Half a dozen lads from Degania A and Degania B in a demolition squad then crept up and with dynamite blew a hole in the west wall of the station, enabling the attackers to take it with hand grenades. Defenders and survivors fled to Samakh, where Iraqi troops hastily dug a trench and put up a good fight at the railroad station, but finally fled, as did the Arab population of the town. The Haganah, entering the next day after subjecting Samakh to mortar shelling, met little resistance.

At dawn, May 15, Iraqi troops and Arab Legionnaires opened a successful battle to retake Samakh, laying down a four-hour artillery and air bombardment. Tiny Haganah forces—some 70 boys, with Nurse Bertha Stavinsky, from Detroit—managed to hold out for three days. At the railroad station the defenders were without food or water for 48 hours, and in the police station there were not enough rifles and Sten guns to go round, so the boys took turns with the weapons. The Jews were forced to abandon first Samakh, and then, after the station was ringed by Arab tanks which decimated and repulsed 28 young men, sent by the colonists as reinforcements, the police station, as well, was abandoned. Loss of life was the heaviest of the Jordan Valley battles.

It was at Degania A on the morning of Thursday that the attackers actually penetrated with tanks through the barbed-wire fences and into the heart of the settlement; and it was in Degania A (founded in 1909 and the first collective farm in Palestine peopled with idealistic and scholarly East European folk of the famous movement of Chever Hakvutzoth) that ordinary colonists proved their morale and mettle against tanks.

DRAWING BY AMY KASAI

Aaron Shapiro, 39-year-old veterinarian in the Jordan Valley, who commanded the sector of the colony into which the tanks broke, showed me the remains of a Renault, like a charred old-fashioned iron stove, at the very lip of the first-line trench, and intrcduced me to 23-year-old Sholom Hochbaum, of Katowice, Poland, survivor of Bergen Belsen and an "illegal immigrant," who waited till the tank was almost upon him and then jumped out of the trench and hit it with two Molotov cocktails. Men in their fifties manned those trenches and drove off the second tank, already in flames, and hit a third with a PIAT gun.

I cannot now tell the full story of Degania's defense, but the attack failed after three hours. It was not resumed, though the Arabs began a heavy shelling after withdrawal. Some of the older colonists told me they grew weary of irregular eating and sleeping for days before the attack, but when the fighting began and the tanks broke through, they had a sudden surge of joyous excitement, as if, they said in Yiddish, "It was a chossanah" (wedding). Doctor Shapiro himself, apologetic because he had "wastefully" ordered eight more Molotov cocktails thrown at that first tank when the first two were enough to destroy it, told me his folk now are very cocky, and dismissed the tanks with a contemptuous wave of his hand, as if tanks were something his people could take in their stride.

Three attackers died in that first tank, one trying to escape and the others burned to death, and the hits that were scored on those tanks in Degania A that morning may help explain why, in a heavy attack on the adjoining younger settlement of De-

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gania B the same day, the oncoming tanks made no effort to break into the colony, although the defenders were so hard-pressed that some front-line oldsters had to use shotguns.

In Degania B about 100 fighting men, mustered from the colony with little more than light arms but plenty of Molotov cocktails, fought for 12 hours—after several days of shelling—against some 600 of the regular Syrian army with 15 tanks. They had the nerve to lie low during the bombardment and obey the order not to use their rifles against the tanks, holding fire until the supporting infantry was in range and saving the Molotov cocktails for the tanks. It was here, after three attacks, that the Haganah reinforcements arrived at noon, and at two p.m., for the first time in this area, Jewish artillery opened fire from the mountain nearby. When I asked the Chaverim how they reacted, whether they cheered when they heard their own artillery, they said: "After four or five days with no sleep, and constant shelling, sniping and fighting, we were too tired to cheer."

That Thursday night two Jewish planes also appeared over the valley, and helped drive the attacking forces out of the base in Samakh, which was entered by the Jews Friday morning. They found rifles, machine guns, helmets and bullets—some half-ton of arms—abandoned by the Arab forces in flight.

But the final victory which restored Samakh and control of the upper Jordan to the Jews was made possible only because the colonists had stood firm under attack and incredible hardship, including, in Degania B, no water from Tuesday, when the water tower was hit by a shell, until Thursday night when the fighting ended. This account, however fragmentary and inadequate, may enable readers at home to understand the confidence which infuses the Yishuv and the spirit which cleared its northeast-frontier region and pushed the invaders back here, as everywhere else in Palestine, to the Arab territory where the current fighting is now confined.

MONEY EXTRACTED PAINLESSLY

With psychological principles and card indexes, the professional fund-raisers practise their science and art

by Lawrence Lader

At ALMOST ANY MOMENT in the United States, 200 major philanthropic campaigns are working full blast to extract as much loose cash as possible from your pocketbook. The Boy Scouts need their annual quota of $1 million. The local church is raising $50,000 for a new parish house. Old Siwash, where you spent the four happiest years of your life, is raising $5 million for a new library. And even the American Society for Homeless Cocker Spaniels is in desperate need of $30,000 for kennels. Altogether, charitable and institutional campaigns raised close to $3 billion in 1947.

Such astronomical donations do not come spontaneously from American pocketbooks. Potential donors have to be scouted and carefully flattered. They have to be wheedled and cajoled. They have to be bombarded with slogans, posters and radio spots, and feted at lavish dinners. All these trimmings are carried out today by a small group of experts—professional fund-raisers who make their living by helping large charities and non-profit institutions raise money.

A frequent New Republic *contributor, Lawrence Lader was formerly with* Coronet *and the Armed Forces Radio Service. He is now freelancing in New York.*

The fund-raiser is an almost unknown American phenomenon. He is a psychologist and an organizational wizard, a social glad-hander and an economist. He is master of the science of making millions of citizens open their hearts and pocketbooks to the tune of billions of dollars a year. Few people have even heard of him, yet in the last thirty years almost every major drive, including those of the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the Sister Kenny Fund, the Presbyterian Welfare Fund, the Jewish Theological Seminary, Harvard, Yale, Andover, and the Waukegan Elks Club, have been organized and directed by professionals.

There are about a dozen recognized fund-raising firms in the US, of which the eight oldest are charter members of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel. Some of these, like the John Price Jones Corporation, handle any type of general campaign. Others have their specialties. Will, Folsam and Smith raises money just for hospitals. Ward, Wells and Dresham specializes in campaigns for non-profit, social-service agencies. The American City Bureau prefers intensive, three-week to three-month campaigns. Marts and Lundy, and Tamblyn and Brown, on the other hand, concentrate on educational and religious campaigns, many of them lasting as long as five years.

If you were suddenly made chairman of Old Siwash's campaign to collect $5 million for a new library, the chances are that you'd call in a fund-raiser to run it for you. He will know the most painless methods of extracting money from your alumni. He will know just what heartstrings to play upon, just what words and slogans will produce the greatest flood of checks.

A Williams College campaign a few

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years back, for instance, was making slow headway until Tamblyn and Brown discovered that nothing shook the emotions of old grads so deeply as a college song called "The Mountains." They featured the words of the song on a new brochure sent to all alumni, and checks immediately began to pour in.

The approach is not always so sentimental, however. Fund-raising brochures are more often filled with the tantalizing hope that the dollars alumni give for the new laboratory or the new library today may produce the physician who will find a cure for cancer, or the statesman who will establish world peace tomorrow.

A fund-raiser for Old Siwash will also be part Elsa Maxwell, part Leonard Lyons. He will know everyone worth knowing—everyone with a bulging bank account who might be induced to donate part of it to the campaign. He will have a highly detailed list of all Siwash alumni, carefully classified as to their earning power, their inheritances and their previous tendencies to share their wealth with their alma mater.

On rare occasions such careful cataloguing is superfluous. Take the case of Andover's $1 million campaign a few years back. The fund-raiser had long known the loyalty that Tom Cochrane, a wealthy Yonkers rug manufacturer, had for the school. He approached Cochrane. "Let's not waste time," said the benefactor. "I'll give $100,000, and I'll get nine of my friends to give the same amount." The campaign was over almost before it began.

Less affluent alumni are sometimes potential gold mines, and therefore a good fund-raiser will have an accurate idea of the financial possibilities of everyone on his list. When another well-known prep school was raising funds a few years back, one of the alumni, a teacher, was marked for a donation of $150. "I just haven't got the money," he apologized, "but I know a foundation that might be able to contribute a lot more." When he reported back to campaign headquarters, he was carrying the foundation's check for $50,000.

A good fund-raiser is also a master psychologist. People are prompted to part with their cash for a variety of reasons. Not the least of these is rivalry. If your fund-raiser has already landed $75,000 from one banker for the Old Siwash library, he will make sure that the news gets into the papers and that all the other bankers in town see the item quickly. The chances are that personal pride will soon have them matching the $75,000 with an equal contribution of their own.

When a donor fails to come through as expected, a smart fund-raiser can even turn it to the advantage of the campaign. During a fund drive for Adelphi College, A. B. See, the elevator manufacturer, not only refused to give the $100,000 that had been expected of him, but issued a blistering statement on women's colleges. Any girl can learn more in twelve months of manual labor, See asserted, than she can in four years at college.

Instead of being disheartened by this blow, Tamblyn and Brown, which was handling the campaign, released See's statement to the press. It created an educational furor. Newspapers all over the country carried it on their front pages. Women educators, rising in counterattack, blasted See in letter columns and from lecture platforms. People who had never even heard of Adelphi College rallied to the cause by sending in a continuous stream of checks. The campaign went over the top—and much sooner than if See had contributed his expected $100,000.

The first big public function in a campaign is the kick-off dinner. Old Siwash's fund-raiser will naturally see that the best-heeled alumni and the most important local dignitaries are invited. Under each plate he will probably tuck a copy of the campaign brochure with the goal that the fund must reach carefully underlined.

To the dinner he will undoubtedly invite the president and deans of Old Siwash, and seat them next to the largest potential donors. These representatives of the college will be briefed beforehand to prevent misunderstandings like the one that occurred at a fund-raising dinner for a theological school handled by Marts and Lundy. The dean had been seated next to the multimillionaire owner of a national grocery chain. After chatting with his neighbor for a while, the dean hurried over to the fund-raiser and complained: "I thought you were inviting some wealthy people here."

"They're all worth a fortune," the fund-raiser insisted.

"Not the man sitting next to me," said the dean. "I asked him what he did, and he said he was a grocer."

In place of a kick-off dinner, fund-raisers often use other "points in time" to let the public know that a campaign has begun. A few years back, when Marts and Lundy was launching a $3 million building campaign for Colby College in Maine, Marts felt that something more newsworthy than a dinner was essential. He decided to hold an outdoor ceremony to dedicate the building site, and invited the Governor of Maine as well as hundreds of dignitaries who made their summer homes nearby. At the appointed signal, a

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charge of dynamite was exploded and the first ground dug for the new buildings was blown hundreds of feet into the air. Newspaper photographs of the event made the front pages of papers as far away as Italy—with startling results. Two years later, an American who had once lived in Bar Harbor died in Rome. In his will he left $750,000 to Colby.

When a fund-raising organization takes over a campaign, it usually assigns one or more members of its staff to work at campaign headquarters. College fund drives may last six months or even for years. Large public appeals like the American Heart Association's usually take about four months. For each member of its staff assigned to headquarters, money-raising organizations charge a fee that ranges between $400 and $800 a week. Reputable firms never work on a commission basis. The cost of a campaign runs from 6 to 12 percent of the amount raised, with the cost diminishing as the fund grows larger. Yale's $20 million fund-raising drive in the 1920's established a record low cost of only three percent of the total.

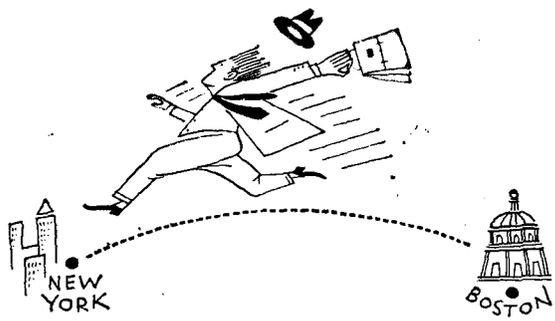
Fund-raising staffs are almost always made up of men. Women are a rarity because the volunteers in most campaigns are housewives, who object to taking orders from other women.

DRAWINGS BY DOUG ANDERSON

Most fund-raisers got into the field during the 1920's through education or related social-service activities like the YMCA. Arnaud Marts was a YMCA secretary, a fund-raiser for two large national campaigns during World War I, and president of Bucknell University from 1935 to 1945. Some of his staff were with the YMCA; one had been a college president; another had been a minister for twenty years. John Price Jones, probably the best known of all fund-raisers, worked originally with the Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives of 1917-18. He impressed Thomas Lamont so much that Lamont called on him to help Harvard's campaign after the First World War.

A short, stocky man who is in perpetual motion, Jones now lives on a farm in Pineville, Pennsylvania, and commutes to New York every day. His associates claim that their hardest job is keeping up with him. To supervise his accounts, he travels continuously; in one typical three-day period recently, he was in Boston, Virginia and Albany, stopping off for meetings in New York.

One of the newest fund-raising firms is Kersting, Brown and Company, which has just managed the Heart Association campaign in New York City for the first time. A large-scale, public drive like this is far different from educational or religious drives, and Carl Kersting, who conducted it, is



a master of the technique. Convinced from past statistics that one-third of the money raised in New York comes from the top sixty donors, he concentrated on the highest income brackets.

His argument ran like this: because of high taxes, philanthropy can actually be made to look extremely painless. If your net income is only $4,000, it costs you 79 cents for each dollar you give to charity. But if your net income is $50,000, each dollar costs you only 50 cents, and the figure comes down as your income rises.

But Kersting went after the small money too; he employed every dramatic trick in the business. On the opening day, Mayor O'Dwyer posed for pictures, next to a large, plastic heart; his transcribed remarks were played later on important radio stations. Every newspaper carried coupons, asking for volunteers in the Cardiac Crusade. Twenty-five hundred answered the call—the largest number ever to respond in a New York public campaign.

The campaign's smartest stunt was its radio tie-in. Each entrant in the "Truth and Consequences" Walking Man Contest was required to contribute to the Heart Association. This item alone accounted for $1.5 million.

An added dramatic punch was the memorial fund in honor of Mark Hellinger, who had just died of heart disease. Mrs. "Bugs" Baer and Ed Sullivan organized the Entertainment Division, and on the opening night of "The Naked City," Hellinger's last picture, raised $125,000. Milton Berle, taking the air on a 24-hour marathon, added another $35,000.

Plastic-heart banks for small contributions were placed all over New York City. Radio disc jockeys held special contests. The Women's Division canvassed apartment houses and raised another $25,000. When the final reports came in, the campaign was well over the top.

Because most fund-raising firms

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have been organized within the last 30 years and are still little publicized, fund-raisers are apt to have pronounced inferiority complexes. "Perhaps if we had a one-syllable name for our profession, it would be easier to describe it," Marts lamented recently, "but we don't have such a word yet. We are still acutely conscious of the fact that we are pioneering and that we have to use long, explanatory phrases to describe our activity."

Leading fund-raising firms are even more disturbed by the increasing growth of charity rackets, which are mulcting the public out of millions of dollars every year from their "boiler-room" headquarters, and damaging the whole profession. Of the almost $3 billion raised for philanthropy annually, it has been estimated that as much as $100 million goes to fake charities. In 1947, the New York *World-Telegram* claimed that half of New York's $60 million of contributions went to these crooks.

A boiler-room operator needs nothing to go into business but a set of 10 or 12 telephones and some good lists. He gets his telephone salesmen, often through ads in the newspapers, and pays them 30 percent of what they bring in. Often he makes connections with a fairly legitimate charity which is tempted by the lure of quick money.

Working from a list of known suckers, which is the most treasured item of the boiler-room operator's equipment, the salesman starts his phone call with a smooth and heart-wringing spiel. He tells the sucker that the charity is doing a wonderful job for children, sending them to the country for a two weeks' summer vacation. But the charity is down to its last penny. It needs money desperately—now. Twenty-five dollars will be enough to cover the cost of a whole vacation for one kid.

If the sucker says "yes" and asks where to send his check, the salesman makes his last pitch. The need is so urgent, he says, that he will send a messenger to his home immediately to pick up the check. The sucker never

has a chance to change his mind. Within half an hour, his money is out of his hands.

For every dollar that the boiler-room operator collects, 30 percent goes for his phone salesmen, 10 for the cost of telephones, 3 for pickups of the money, 15 for general overhead, and another chunk for promotion. The charity is lucky if it gets 30 cents on each dollar.

Even worse than the boiler-room boys are the outright crooks who collect money for a phony charity and keep 100 percent on every dollar for themselves. Not long ago, an "Archbishop" and three officers, who made up the only members of the "American Catholic Orthodox Church," were arrested and convicted after cleaning up from $75,000 to $100,000 a year for their "Hell's Kitchen" mission. Another crook had a whole team of women, dressed as nuns, stationed throughout the city to collect "alms." They paid him $2.50 a day to "protect" their jobs. The rest of their daily take, which often ran to more than $25, they kept themselves.

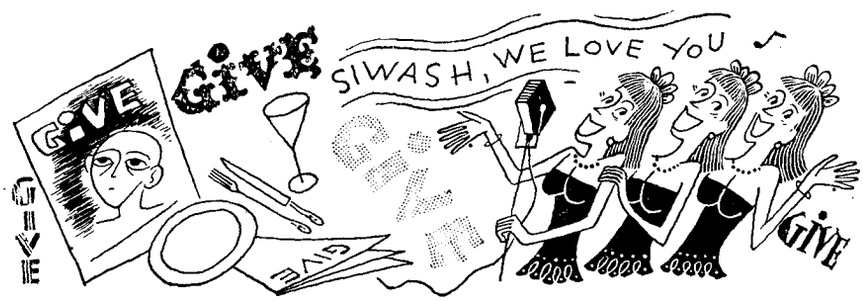
The growth of rackets isn't the only problem that the legitimate fund-raisers have to face today. Many of them are bemoaning the fact that America's record-breaking philanthropic contributions, which hit their peak in 1947, may soon begin to drop. "The redistribution of wealth caused by high inheritance and income taxes," Tamblyn and Brown lamented recently, "is steadily reducing the number of individuals capable of making munificent gifts."

But there are plenty of optimists, led by Arnaud Marts, who feel that philanthropic campaigns are approaching the biggest years in American history. Gifts to churches, which hit their previous peak in 1938, went far past that point in 1947. Gifts to higher education have been rising steadily since 1942.

Today, because of increased costs, swollen student bodies and demands for new construction, almost every college and university is embarking on a long-range campaign that should keep the fund-raisers happy for at least five years. Harvard needs $90 million. Princeton University and Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute are both shooting for $20 million.

Large public appeals also are increasing. In 1943, cancer was an almost unknown educational campaign. Now it ranks with the Red Cross and polio as one of the biggest drives of the year. The American Heart Association, which raised only $40,000 a few years back, has just reached the $2.5 million mark in its latest drive. This remarkable increase was due in large part to the inauguration of a local-affiliates program which was coördinated with the national organization.

If 1948 doesn't set a new record for contributions, it won't be for lack of worthy causes. And there will be plenty of experts to prod you gently for a donation or two. All in all, it looks like a fat year for fund-raising—even if it is a little deflating on the pocketbook.



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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

by George Dangerfield

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S *Democracy in America* was published (Part 1) in 1835 and (Part II) in 1840. *The American Commonwealth,* by James Bryce, appeared in 1888. If you set Harold Laski's *The American Democracy: A Commentary and Interpretation* (Viking; $6.50) beside these two magistral works, you have three points of European observation, roughly equidistant, through which to trace the line of American ascendancy. The line is majestic, but alarming: and one almost wishes for some pre-de Tocqueville America, in which only a steamboat on the river and a low explosive in the arsenal offered problems in energy more obstinate than such as might have been presented to the mind of Julius Caesar.

It would be difficult to compare the three writers: an aristocrat who believed, with some reluctance, that democracy was inevitable; a high-minded inhabitant of the Age of Darwin and of Gladstone; a twentieth-century socialist. Environment has changed so swiftly that whole ages seem to flow between them. One thing is, of course, clear from the start. Where de Tocqueville implied, and Bryce specifically stated, that Americans "can afford to wait," Laski is unable to make any such prediction.

Laski has the modern man's sense of the terrible acceleration of society, and he feels that he must project upon this acceleration an image of radical social change, or else admit defeat. The effort, or rather the strain, is evident throughout the book. *The American Democracy* is a learned, searching and eloquent survey of the American experience, past and present; but it is not invariably patient either in argument or in style. Laski sometimes gives the impression of a man obliged to pronounce a subtle and exhaustive discourse while running a mile race.

I do not think that this detracts very much, if at all, from the importance of his book; a writer must reflect his epoch, and ours is under the shadow of jet propulsion. I would go further and suggest that although "posterity," as Benjamin Disraeli remarked in an elliptical moment, "is a most limited assembly," Laski's book has a good chance of gaining admission in due time. It is fortunate, perhaps, that the departed have no say in the matter—since it would probably be blackballed by James Bryce.

At the outset of his work, Laski says that American democracy is "essentially a democracy of the middle class," by which he means that it has always been sensitive to the claims of property. This constitutional interpretation cannot altogether disguise the fact that if our democracy is "essentially of the middle class" it must, for that very reason, be the product of a vast and complex movement which reached its climax in Europe in 1848, when Louis Philippe fled from Paris in disguise and Metternich left Vienna in a laundry cart, and which was satisfied in America by the convulsions of the Civil War. One can detect in this vanished revolution not only a startling impulse toward the release of private initiative, but also a profound egalitarian dream. Nowhere, perhaps, did the two so nearly agree—or so handily conceal the fact that their objectives were dissimilar—as in the United States of America before the traumatic year of 1837, and on a diminishing but still successful scale thereafter.

A century ago, European conservatives still regarded the whole American phenomenon with alarm and distrust, especially the frontier, with its crude gospel of equal rights and unlimited opportunity. It was something which they could neither comprehend nor crush. Though their criticisms were often directed against such irrelevancies as spitting, bad table manners and (oddly enough) lack of *embonpoint* in the ladies, it was clear that they feared the dangerous example that America gave to the laboring classes of Europe. Yet after 1865, when the Union had survived not only upon the battlefields but also against the best efforts of Napoleon III and Gladstone, America climbed toward respectability and received the kiss of peace from James Bryce.

How did this come about? Laski himself does not discount the generous and vitalizing influence of the frontier, which could persuade a really great scholar like F. J. Turner, the historian of the New West, into believing that here was a new democracy; he merely observes that when it did transmit a strong democratic influence, such as Populism in the nineties, the influence was checked by forces which Jeffersonian philosophy had already remarked upon in the days of the Virginia Dynasty. In short, the Jeffersonians had foreseen the growth of an American dichotomy which became increasingly evident after 1865, as competition slowly yielded to combination; and which the frontier was unable to prevent. After 1865, moreover, economic individualism ascended to the status of a myth, with resounding titles like Freedom of Enterprise, and convenient personifications like Carnegie and Edison; while the great American dream of a free and full life for the common man began to withdraw into rhetoric. Thus the republic became respectable.

American culture has not had too easy a time within this bifurcated tradition. Once it had said its belated farewells to the Age of Enlightenment, had lost its faith in natural law

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and had detached its history from the grasp of Providence, it looked in vain for reassurance from some other quarter. During the past half-century, its criticisms have been more and more searching; they have also been, so Laski thinks, too nostalgic, skeptical and pessimistic. It is as though American culture, having grown up in a belief in self-realization through expansion, has not yet adjusted itself to the necessities of contraction. Its contributions to the fields of knowledge have been great; but its great affirmations are mostly still to come.

There are, I suggest, two main assumptions in this work. The first is that the market economy (that is, the economy which sets production for individual profit as its supreme goal) is quite irrelevant to the conditions of American society. Here Laski seems to agree in part with the social dynamics of Brooks Adams, who said in 1913 that the equilibrium of American society was shifting rapidly and that one had to look for a new center of social gravity. Adams pinned his hopes (or perhaps one should say his despairs) upon an impartial administration which could use the state power to discipline the whole nation into unity. Laski dissents from this; he does not believe that an agent can become a principal. He supposes, rather, that if the state power were released from its dependence upon an economic oligarchy, society would move from a state of unstable to a state of stable equilibrium. For such a release would presumably entail a major redistribution of purchasing power.

He believes, I think, that dominant types have a tendency to think with specialized and inflexible minds. Thus an economic oligarchy demands, as the price of its very considerable favors, that every man do his duty by accepting the postulates of an economic orthodoxy which happens to be out of date. As he examines in great detail the characteristics of our business and professional classes, and the tendencies of religion, education, press, radio and movies, he observes that all these are forced, by the pressure of concentrated economic power, to join together in an agreement to preserve the *status quo*. And the *status quo* is unthinkable in a universe where nothing is at rest, unless we suppose it to mean the movement of society along the line of least resistance, until it is either checked by some other force or else plunges into the abyss.

The second main assumption is that this other force exists, and that it can be put to work in strict accordance with the rules of political democracy—by consent and not by convulsion.

The center of this problem of force, and perhaps its clue, lies in our party alignment. The need for a strong President, which may have become statutory with the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921; the tendency of the Supreme Court to turn itself into a legislative third chamber; the historic opportunism of American labor—such questions drift into the ambiguous context of party politics. The major parties are seen as two loose cohesions of conflicting interests; or two sets of brokers for special interests. Except in times of crisis, even a great President with a strong and positive policy must encounter, not merely the traditional jealousy of Capitol Hill, but the active and stultifying opposition of some segment of his own party; and he is forced to buy the support he needs with compromises in which he does not believe.

Laski maintains that such a system is a mossy relic of the days of the negative state. He thinks that the times demand the formation of a new party, founded upon the trade unions but willing to include poor tenant farmers, Negro and white; migratory workers, scientific workers, technicians, doctors, industrial executives, teachers, journalists. He does not minimize the formidable difficulties which such an organization would have to surmount—the healing of labor differences, the allaying of urban-agrarian suspicions, the draining of the Dismal Swamp of our racial and minority problems. Such a party, none the less, would make the state power available to a genuine majority at a place where a genuine majority would be anxious to disclose itself, and that is at the polling booth.

He thinks that the two historic parties would then coalesce into a real Conservative Party, and that this would be a great advantage. Certainly if the business mind is to accept certain drastic "innovations" as the "price of survival," it would find a Conservative Party the most convenient organization through which to do so. If British history is of any assistance here, it will be noticed that the technique of parliamentary conservatism consists in knowing, when in opposition, what not to oppose, and, when in power, what not to repeal: in other words, in not smashing the clock, and in not setting it back. This would exclude the filibuster on the one hand, and the Taft-Hartley Act on the other.

The American Democracy is not a simple book. Laski's social equations are so full of variables that a hurried reader might be forgiven for complaining, as it was once complained of Gladstone, that his arguments say one thing and his parentheses another. I think a careful reading, however, will show that he maintains a nice balance between ascertainable fact and permissible faith. The book is a reasoned expression of belief in the creative powers of the great American dream. If this is optimism, it is a difficult optimism, with some harsh ingredients.

The great John Taylor of Caroline, a prophet but no radical, could he turn the pages of this book in whatever agrarian Nirvana he now inhabits, would probably remark that one of these ingredients was his hated "ochlocracy." But words change their meanings with time. One does not have to assent to all Laski's propositions to believe, as I believe, that he has written a seminal introduction to a new epoch. Nor need one assent to any of them to hope that if Lord Bryce (as Laski says) exorcized the ghost of Dickens' Jefferson Brick—the Yankee jingoist and twister of the Lion's tail—Laski himself will not unwittingly summon once again that singular phantom.

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THERE IS STILL TIME

WE NEED NOT FAIL, by Sumner Welles (Houghton Mifflin Company; $2.50).

IF RUSSIAN RECALCITRANCE, as it is widely claimed, has contributed heavily to the present weakness of the United Nations, it has done no more to demonstrate the impotence of the struggling new world organization than the current American quibbling and confusion of policy over the Palestine issue. Appeasement, particularly when it concerns the possibility of negotiating peacefully with the Soviet Union, is currently a term of deep contempt; yet the British and American truckling to Arab threats represents appeasement in its most humiliating form.

Alleged political necessities have caused Washington to back corrupt and reactionary regimes in China and Greece, but when, as in the case of Israel, there is an opportunity for us to give aid to a genuine struggling democracy, we spurn the chance or manage it ineptly.

Because he objects violently to the weakening of the UN by State Department manipulations, to the spineless conciliation of the Arabs and to our failure to give proper assistance to Israel, Sumner Welles has written a short, angry and impressive book which he optimistically calls *We Need Not Fail.*

Welles believes that clumsy, wrongheaded and generally incompetent as our Palestinian policy under Truman has been, there is still time for us to support the findings of the UN committee which advised the establishment of Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. Thus, he says, a just and sensible settlement of an increasingly dangerous situation can be achieved, the UN can gain vitally needed power and prestige instead of being rendered hopelessly impotent, and a situation in which we once more thrust the better cause into the undeserving arms of the Russians can be avoided. It will, however, require far more than Truman's perfunctory and hasty "recognition" of the new state to atone for a policy that,

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The American Democracy

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out of hysterical fear of Russia, dubious strategic plans for a third world war and the ominous shadow of Washington-backed oil interests, has succeeded only in creating confusion and additional international suspicion.

The book is valuable for its complete survey of the issue it contemplates, and it is particularly useful for the average reader in its account of the background of the Zionist case. A great many liberal-minded Americans —to whom the longing of persecuted European Jews for a homeland has a deep emotional appeal—have nevertheless been disturbed by the thought that the majority population of Palestine was Arab.

Was it not unfair and a violation of the rules of democratic procedure for a minority group to be given control of the territory? Were not the rights of Arabs who lived there being violated by the Jews who had merely a sentimental claim to Palestine? Was not the claim of the Jews that they could bring much needed social and economic modernization to backward Palestine somehow equivalent to Mussolini's claim that he was bringing similar advantages to Ethiopia?

To those who have been troubled by such questions the Welles answers are happily persuasive. After reading him, this reviewer, at least, was convinced that, although any solution of the Palestine question would bring about some minor injustices, the most equitable answer, as well as the one that would bring the most good to the world in general and the Near East in particular, is the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states and the reopening of the Jewish section to immigration. As the former Undersecretary points out:

> The Roman devastation of Palestine in 135 A.D. ended some 1,200 years of Jewish history in that land, with the slaughter and expulsion of most of the Jews. Palestine then became successively a part of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. Subsequently it was occupied for three centuries by the Arabs. After these were conquered by the Seljuk Turks, Palestine passed from the hands of one conqueror to those of another. For almost a hundred years after 1095 A.D. it was under the control of the Crusaders. But from the year 1517 A.D., when the Ottoman Turks conquered it, until the close of the First World War, Palestine was continuously a province of the Turkish Empire. Except for the Egyptians and some of the other people of North Africa, none of the present Arab nations obtained their freedom from Turkish rule until Turkey was defeated by the Allies in the First World War. On August 10, 1920, the victorious Allies compelled Turkey to sign the peace treaty of Sèvres. By terms of that treaty Turkey was forced to cede to the Allies her province of Palestine. Under international law Palestine thus became subject to whatever disposal the Allies might decide to make of its inhabitants and territory.

For the last 30 years, in other words, the right to determine the future of Palestine has been vested in the organized society of nations, whether called the League of Nations or the United Nations. Furthermore, of the 3,000 years that have passed since the Israelites first entered the Holy Land, the Jews have dominated the country for some 1,200 years and the Arabs but 400 years.

Nor did the Arabs gain their freedom through their own efforts. It was the Allied defeat of their conquerors, the Turks, that gave it to them and brought about the establishment of such independent Arab states as Irak and Trans-Jordan. Trans-Jordan was carved out of the eastern part of Palestine, and this free Arab state, established by British assistance and maintained by a British subsidy, is three and a half times larger than the region now known as Palestine. Thus the Arabs, whose independence was a virtual gift and who already possess most of the territory historically known as Palestine, begrudge even a small part of the remaining region to the Jews. Welles adds that Palestine has never been "the spiritual and historic Homeland of the Arabs as it has been that of the Jews."

As for the possible similarity between the Jewish modernization of Palestine and the promised Italian modernization of Ethiopia, the contribution of the Jews to the Near East is by no means that of an imperialistic aggressor. On the contrary, it is a genuinely democratic movement, which would not only bring great economic benefits and a development of the natural resources to a backward and poverty-stricken land, but would supply a leavening base for democracy that would be of tremendous help to the more progressive forces in the Arab world.

This help for Arab democracy plays a great part in arousing the hatred of the reactionaries and pro-Nazis of the Arab League against Israel. Once more reaction is using nationalism to help it hold on to its favored position, and once more the US and Britain are supporting it.

Welles is critical of the shifty American policy that seems to fear anything merely because the Russians are for it, but he is also bitter at the shortsighted British support of the Arabs, who were hostile to them in the crucial days of the Second World War, against the Jews, who gave them valiant succor. In the end he leaves one with the unhappy suspicion that the best way to influence the British rulers, even if they are members of the Labor Party, is to threaten them. RICHARD WATTS JR.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

SO YOU'RE GOING TO PARIS; SO YOU'RE GOING TO ENGLAND; SO YOU'RE GOING TO SCANDINAVIA; by Clara E. Laughlin (Houghton Mifflin Company; each volume, $4).

CLARA E. LAUGHLIN'S renowned *So You're Going* books are far closer to a series of letters from an unusually well-informed and effusive friend than they are to a standard guidebook. As she herself frequently makes clear, they are intended to be carried in one hand with a Baedeker in the other.

Miss Laughlin must have been the best type of prewar American tourist. She loved travel and Europe, she had a quick appreciation for the customs of the countries she visited, and she was indefatigable in tracing the historical and literary associations of the places she saw. Thus she became the perfect guide for the tourists who followed her. And thus, in the year 1948, she

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DRAWINGS BY HARRY DIX

seems to have belonged to another world.

However long she stayed in a country, she remained a tourist. She was primarily concerned with landmarks and traditions; the daily life and point of view of a nation escaped her. America's destiny has become so closely intertwined with Europe's since the last war, ERP and the United Nations are so much a part of our daily lives, that it is unreasonable to expect any postwar tourist to regard Europe with the detachment of these volumes. It is no longer "interesting" to learn how Europe lives and thinks; it is the first requisite of survival. And yet, as the European nations put out their posters urging the return of the American tourist trade, these books will rightly become invaluable pieces of travel equipment. Much of what is left out of them will be immediately apparent; much of what they contain might otherwise be overlooked.

The attempt to bring them up to date has not been entirely successful, except for the Paris volume. It's unfortunate that Miss Laughlin herself did not live to undertake this work, for she might have made the recent histories of the countries a continuing part of the earlier history she so enthusiastically relates.

Of those assigned to do the task for her, only John L. Brown, who returned to Paris at the time of the Liberation and remained there until 1947, has captured the spirit of the original. In addition to his introduction, covering events in the city from 1939 to 1947, he has done a careful job of making timely the "Practical Hints" on how to get around Paris, of explaining why the tourist can live well in France while the French themselves still need our help, and of introducing smoothly into Miss Laughlin's anecdotes about the French kings, the Revolution and Napoleon later stories of the Occupation and the FFI. He has realized that for a new generation the Place Pigalle should be identified with the American troops' "Pig Alley," the Rue de la Huchette with Elliot Paul's *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, the Boulevard du Temple with Marcel Carné's film, "Children of Paradise." By an intelligent use of such innovations, Brown has made this guide book the most satisfactory of the three for the contemporary traveler.

The English volume is not done with as much imagination. Mrs. Mildred Britten Austin, a former associate in Miss Laughlin's London office and herself British, diffidently adds the information that certain landmarks no longer stand, occasionally relates in bald figures the story of a famous air raid or inserts the fact that American troops were stationed here or there. But the spirit of Britain in wartime, the brilliant chapter which the British added to their history, is somehow missing.

This is particularly noticeable because of Miss Laughlin's lively admiration for England's past. It seems strange that there is no mention of the shelling of Dover and its citizens' gallant resistance, when that city is described as one of the famous Cinque ports. It is a pity not to tell the new visitor that the Norman castles at Battle and Pevensey, so handsomely described in their earlier days by Miss Laughlin, were once again pressed into service in the recent war as headquarters to guard against a possible new invasion, or that the Tower of London did not end its usefulness in the days of Sir Walter Raleigh.

There are dozens of such omissions which anyone who knew England during the war must regret. Perhaps the most startling oversight is the description of Grosvenor Square, still defined as the center of fashionable Mayfair but not as the late center of the "American invasion" or the site of the Roosevelt memorial statue.

The prospective tourist should also be warned that the sentence: "In a British tea shop one can always be sure of a good cup of tea, of excellent bread and butter, sliced thin; of a fresh egg; of a variety of cakes," is to be taken strictly in the historical sense. And "blithe youths" is scarcely an accurate description of the postwar, usually veteran, Oxford undergraduates.

The Scandinavian volume has been revised only to the extent of checking facts on transportation and the current size of the Norwegian merchant fleet and having representatives of the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian Information Offices in this country add brief introductions giving the wartime histories of their nations. These read almost exactly like the wartime propaganda bulletins issued by the OWI on Allied nations, but perhaps they serve their purpose.

The book has a special interest because the average American knows comparatively little of the history and points of interest in Scandinavia. One

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may regret that latter-day landmarks —the little ports where Norwegians set sail in fishing boats for England, the home of Trygve Lie, the site of a famous incident of Danish resistance, the hotels in Sweden known as spy centers during the war—are not given; one is grateful none the less for information about the Vikings, Queen Christina, Hans Christian Andersen, Henrik Ibsen, and the Scandinavian cooperative movement and folk schools.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

DOMESTIC TYRANTS

BULLIVANT AND THE LAMBS, by I. Compton-Burnett (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

THE PUBLICATION of this book is not the first attempt to introduce I. Compton-Burnett to American readers, although I hope it proves more successful than previous efforts and encourages the publisher to bring out all her books in this country. In England, where her novels have been published for a number of years, her admirers form a cult of a somewhat evangelical cast, probably because her peculiar virtues are as discouraging to some as they are incomparable to others. Almost line by line, she is the most nimble and subtle of living novelists in the language, which doesn't make the apostolical work any easier for her enthusiasts.

From book to book, her writing displays a unity of theme, the vicissitudes of family strife, and employs as a technical innovation a pointedly stylized dialogue. *Bullivant and the Lambs* is an excellent example. It is the author's most recent novel, published in England last year as *Manservant and Maidservant*. The subject is the cruelty of domestic despotism and the adjustment of its victims to their fate. This situation has its counterparts in minor instances, but the central character is Horace Lamb, master of a country house near the east coast of England. Besides his wife and five children, there live with him two relations whose sole inheritance is "an unspoken right to live under the family roof." There are six servants and a tutor for the children.

The decisive factor is money. "Horace has married . . . for money, hoping to serve his impoverished estate, and she had married him for love, hoping to fulfil herself. The love had gone and the money remained, so the advantage lay with Horace." It is an advantage he is determined to keep.

"That the money belonged to Charlotte rather than to anyone else, was a problem he had never solved," but as a working compromise, he "held that saving the money, or rather preventing its being spent, was equivalent to earning it, and he pursued his course with a furtive discomfiture that clouded his life." This parsimony, the basis of Horace's power and self-respect, is evident through all the life of the family: in fires that are built too large and then unmade to recover the coal; in food that is surreptitiously eaten and summarily avenged; in clothes that are handed down irrespective of the shabbiness of the garment or the sex of the wearer; in children who are begrudged their allowances and servants who are underpaid.

His cousin says to Horace: "It must be wonderful to have power, and use it with moderation and cruelty." His aunt rests immune in her age. "She was seen as a rare and impressive personality, and as she saw herself as others saw her, had one claim to the quality of rareness." His wife is condemned to "seeing her children suffer day by day." The children live in fear and hatred of their father. One of his sons makes a wax image of him and sticks pins in it, remarking calmly, "It is an honorable purpose." The youngest boy, put to bed in hysteria, cries out: "I don't want him to come here. He is always in all the places. I don't want him to come where I sleep. I don't like to think he might look at me in the night."

The despotic pattern is imitated in the servants' quarters, where Bullivant, the butler, and Mrs. Selden, the cook, lord it over their underlings, looking piously to the master for their sanction, as the origin of the near divine right of head servants. To support their dignity and in the exercise of their office, this tyrant and these petty tyrants use a windy speech of cliché, euphemism and cant. And their victims are ready with the quick reply, to show at least that they are not taken in by what they are powerless to prevent.

This is the real matter of the book —the dialogue. It is not naturalistic; it is witty, devastating and perpetual. As compensation for their bondage, the household has developed superhuman powers of observation and matching facility of expression. The only thing that is free to all is the last word, and they fight for it like game cocks. If conversation is the whole of their common life, it is also their inner life, and much of the talk is like soliloquy, with the bracing difference that it is outspoken and subject to immediate retort.

By this technique, Miss Compton-Burnett combines all the elements of her story at the one accessible level of dialogue: narrative, motivation, conflict, judgment. Although for the most part nothing happens, at this pitch of lucidity all possibilities are mutually recognized, even murder, so that to all intents they *do* happen. Where everyone says exactly what he thinks, and thinks much, it is as if everyone were clairvoyant. And although everyone is actually helpless, thought is tantamount to action: where intention is so divulged, it is literally taken for the deed.

And the deed is dark. Of all contemporary writers, Miss Compton-Burnett most explicitly recognizes evil, but as everyone in her book recognizes it too, a potential melodrama is undermined by irony. If to know all is not precisely, in her books, to forgive all, it assures a certain humorous immunity to the sufferers. In an example of the irony that mitigates, if not redeems, the meaning, Horace is told by his cousin that his words have "broken my heart, but that is the natural result of the use of words." The natural result of Miss Compton-Burnett's use of words is something far different, and I repeat the hope that they be made accessible to us.

JOHN FARRELLY

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(*Continued from page 9*)
man's speech at Waco, Texas, meant the US would not permit further steps toward the nationalization of French industry, and I said I was sure this was a misinterpretation. Otherwise, we discussed chiefly the dangers from de-Gaulle, and the high price, and shortage, of fertilizer which had been brought about by the French fertilizer trust.

The part of my Washington testimony which I most enjoyed giving was the last paragraph, as follows:

Congress is on trial, not the Communists. America is threatened, not Russia, by this legislation which is designed to set up the Attorney General as a Himmler. For every Communist who might be registered, there would be a thousand liberals silenced whose voices are vital to the preservation of democracy. The warmongers, fearmongers and hatemongers who sponsor such legislation as the Mundt-Nixon bill will stand before the bar of history as American counterparts of Mussolini and Hitler. Our children and our children's children will point the finger of shame and scorn at men who succumbed to the war hysteria manufactured by evil men for selfish purpose.

Another sentence I especially enjoyed uttering was one that I interpolated in the prepared testimony:

We can't have peace if we approach the Russians with an atom bomb in one hand and the Mundt bill in the other.

Continually I am shocked that there are so many good people in the United States—most of them professing Christians—who feel that they can kill ideas with force. These men do not understand either history or human nature. They will learn, if at all, only in the blood and misery of their children and grandchildren. Some day we must realize and act upon the profound truth which William James preached in 1910, of "the replacing power of the higher affection." In other words, the way to meet communism, and the only way, is not with force but with a better idea.

Henry A Wallace

THEATRE: What Is a Theatre?

I AM SURE the New York daily press feels it has done right by the visiting players of the Habimah. Most of its productions were praised, and when they were not, the reviewers' ignorance of the Hebrew language or the inadequacies of Calderon and Sophocles were made to bear the blame. But for all the good will manifested, I fear an opportunity has been missed. By not seeing the Habimah's productions within a perspective deeper than their excellence as shows, we fail to reap the full benefit of what they have to teach us.

For those who remember the New York theatre of the twenties, our reception of the Habimah marks a striking contrast. The visit of a distinguished foreign theatrical group in those days was an event anticipated by long historical surveys, followed by critical analyses, debates, challenges, sermons. Our actors felt they were not alert to their profession unless they attended such performances repeatedly. Students of the theatre looked upon their frequentation of the foreign groups as a kind of post-graduate instruction. Books were published on each of the companies, receptions were held, degrees conferred.

All this bore fruit. New schools and studios were set up among us. Daring productions were more frequent even in the commercial theatre. Actors, playwrights, scene designers, directors, audiences and critics evinced greater eagerness and ambition. Today commercial success or failure has become almost the sole measure of value. In the twenties a "flop" like Lawson's "Processional" had greater repercussions than a smash hit like "A Streetcar Named Desire" has today.

No villain is responsible for the change; economic and social factors have brought it about. But theatre devotees are presumably conscious people. They should use their consciousness to act upon the drift of adverse currents. Perhaps it is inevitable that we should have no real theatre today, but it does not follow that we should allow ourselves to forget what real theatre is. If we lose the concept as well as the fact, then there is very little chance of recovery or renewal.

The Habimah is a real theatre. A real theatre exists when a group, united by a common aim, works together to give the most complete dramatic expression to the ideals that inspire it. A theatre works as a unit as any serious artist works individually. A theatre builds for continuity, development, perpetuation of its ideals and its identity. The actors of the Habimah have been working together since 1920. They have produced about 85 plays—modern and classic, foreign and Hebrew—most of which are still retained in their present repertory. The Habimah has its own studio in which to develop a new generation of actors; it has its own playhouse. The Habimah has become an integral part of a culture. It receives community support.

The Habimah's style is predominantly non-realistic. It is capable of other styles as well—my belief is that as Israel progresses toward greater political stability, the Habimah's productions will grow increasingly realistic—but there is no doubt that all its productions are influenced by that heightened and pointed expressivity of speech, gesture, movement, makeup and stage setting that we usually refer to as "stylized."

This does not mean that all the Habimah's productions are alike. Their "Oedipus Rex"—directed in 1947 by Tyrone Guthrie of London—is quite different from the 1922 "Dybbuk." The reason for this is that "The Dybbuk" was regarded as something out of a directly personal past with a peculiar pertinence for the actors of the company and their original audiences, while "Oedipus" is viewed as an old tale the meaning of which is univer-

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sal in the traditional sense. "Oedipus" is less emphatic, less savage; it is a classic in the subdued fashion of someone uttering a portentous truth that has become part of an ancient heritage. This is not necessarily the right way to do "Oedipus" any more than "The Dybbuk" must be done as the Habimah does it. The point is that both are sustained by genuine conceptions.

"The Golem," on the other hand, is a combination of an almost Gothic symbolism with rather stock nineteenth-century theatricality. Though as a whole "The Golem" is the least carefully wrought of the four Habimah productions seen here, the familiar pattern of its story ("Frankenstein" among the Jews of medieval Prague) as well as Aaron Meskin's touching and graphic performance in the central role has made it almost the most popular.

Just as a single style may have numerous variants, so a single culture may produce divers styles. The Habimah—the theatre of a country about the size of Connecticut—is not the only real theatre in Israel. There are others with different styles. The question to ask ourselves is: what have we —and why? HAROLD CLURMAN

RADIO: Matters of Opinion

AN ORGANIZATION in New York City called Radio Reports monitors programs on 93 stations in various large cities. For a few weeks last spring, RR issued periodical breakdowns showing the number of "favorable" and "unfavorable" mentions received by leading political contenders from radio newscasters, analysts and commentators. In a computation that counted the total number of station mentions, the presidential aspirants were given plus and minus scores. Over a five-week period, Thomas E. Dewey had a cumulative total of plus 1,179; Henry A. Wallace a *minus* 11,040. But of course the people who broadcast don't editorialize! It's against the law, remember?

Professional radio insists it tells only the facts, shuns propaganda like the plague. Dr. Clyde Miller, whom Columbia University chooses not to retain next year as an analysis expert, has written a pamphlet entitled, "Propaganda—How and Why It Works" (25 cents, Commission for Propaganda Analysis, Methodist Federation for Social Action). It might be fun to measure your favorite air commentator's effusions by Dr. Miller's yardstick.

CBS put its tallest-browed expert, Dr. Lyman Bryson, on the air for five evenings recently in a series of calm discussions called "You and Propaganda." Bryson exposed no new techniques, but did caution once more against the "complex appeals to our intelligence and to our emotions" being made by many agents. Of course he meant radio too.

The trouble with a series like Bryson's is that, inevitably, it voices only one man's opinions. When Bryson discussed techniques, he was sound, at times scholarly. When he assumed that all right-thinking people shared his opinions—*e.g.*, on ERP—he was being a propagandist, and more subtle than some because of the very subject he was discussing.

Under the title "Time for Reason —About Radio," Bryson did a series of talks on CBS for 27 weeks, ending a year ago. The scripts are now published in a book by the same name (Stewart; $2).

I heard perhaps half of Bryson's series when it was on the air. Now, reading it all, I can see what was wrong with it—and I use his own warnings about propaganda to assist me. For all his sweet reasonableness and unquestionable effort to be candid, Bryson was being a CBS propagandist; he was giving the network's official interpretation of radio. When he brought a second person onto his program—even if that person were an official apologist

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for the advertising industry—the show took on life. On programs where the guests were not apologists—like the New York *Herald Tribune's* radio critic, John Crosby, or New York University's communications expert, Charles A. Siepmann—the visitors not only put meat on Bryson's skeleton, but pumped blood into its dry veins.

Yet Bryson's series of a year ago, like his more recent broadcasts, constitutes a healthy development. The least it accomplishes is to point the need for such thinking aloud about radio. I wish Bryson could continue, perhaps with a regular kibitzer, plus an occasional guest as "expert" witness. Radio needs a constant, running critique of itself on the air, and CBS is at present the only network that would conceivably dare to schedule such a show.

Notes. Among the summer vacationers from the air is Mutual's Sunday afternoon (3:30) "Juvenile Jury," which features kids up to age 11. The substitute is "Life Begins at 80."

After nearly two years of painful effort, the National Association of Broadcasters has adopted a code embodying "standards of practice"; but they will not affect your listening an iota. Motivated by a desire to silence adverse criticism of radio's over-commercialization, the NAB leaders insisted on the enunciation of a set of ethics. The trouble was the code was all in the head, not in the heart. The *Billboard* reports one broadcaster at Los Angeles, where the NAB convention finally voted the thing, called it an "artificial conscience."

In commenting here recently on radio's craze for swag-bags, I should have explicitly named CBS's "Catch Me If You Can" as one scratched from this listener's schedule for further monitoring in the near future.

If you have a stage-struck niece who graduates this year, give her a copy of Paul Denis' *Your Career in Show Business* (Dutton; $3). If the book doesn't disillusion your niece, it will at least give her some straight tips from a man who knows.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Saroyan for the Millions

SOON AFTER he had completed it, Saroyan said of "The Time of Your Life" that it would "very likely take an important part in the development of the new American theatre." This was an instance of the uninhibited boasting that Saroyan used as an advertising device, but it was more than empty conceit. The play did seem important and different; it did seem to be cutting through traditionally cultivated thinking to expose the truth concerning us. It was also superb theatre.

Today, judgments of Saroyan's play would probably be less solemn. His amazed discovery of the maxim that the most important and least observed law of life is to live, his indignation at the injury we inflict on one another, his conviction that in everyone there is potential beauty, greatness and the spirit of divinity seem less striking than they once did. We recall that others have been saying these things —and perhaps more profoundly—for some time. Saroyan's tough sentimentality embarrasses now, his preachments irritate; it may be that the analysts have stolen our innocence or it may just be that Saroyan's pyrotechnic self-confidence dazzled us.

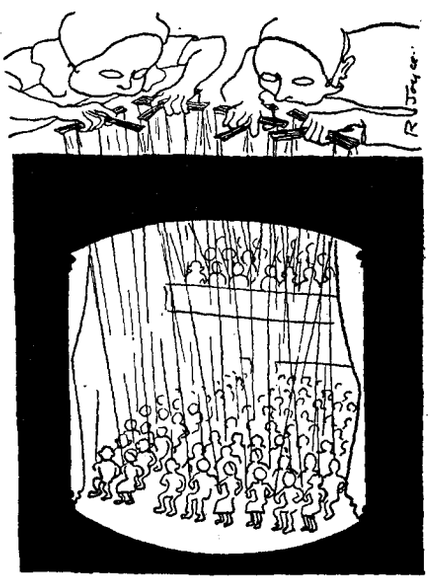
These are reasons why William Cagney, producing "The Time of Your Life" for the movies, and James and Jeanne Cagney, playing the two leads, might have been unable to recapture the first impact of the play. In fact, however, they are not the reasons; for what emerges is not the play but a travesty.

It was certain in advance that some changes would be made; Kitty Duval would not be called a whore, though it must be apparent to everyone that she can be nothing else; Blick would not be identified as the head of the Vice Squad for the obvious reason that this would admit the existence of vice. As it works out in this instance, his animosity toward Nick's Pacific Street saloon is awkward to explain—something about his being a stool pigeon who wants to shake Nick down for reasons never given.

With a little thought, we might have guessed also that Joe's pivotal speech about the evil of money and the impossibility of advancing except on the backs of one's fellows would have to go. But even with these curtsies to public morality and the House of Representatives, the play could have been preserved.

What happened, I think, is another example of the old story. Having committed himself to a project a little more serious than the fortunes of Flicka, Cagney recalled the picture credo that his patrons were to be adolescents and the mentally deficient. He adjusted to their level.

Saroyan, being a good craftsman, had invented some colorful and eccentric personalities for his fable; the movie converts them into oafish clowns. Saroyan presented a group of men and women blindly seeking a resolution of their lives; the movie displays a set of screwballs to be roared at for their psychic deformities. In the play, the bewilderment was on the stage; in the movie it is in the audience. On the screen you will discover that Nick (in



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complete misinterpretation of Saroyan's argument) has placed a sign in his window inviting the passerby to come in and be himself—to get rid of his inhibitions, in other words, like the radio truth-or-consequences participant. At the end of the picture he removes this invitation with the observation that enough is enough. On the contrary, it didn't begin to be enough. "The Time of Your Life" may not have been the great and searching play its author and many of its observers first thought it. But it had an idea and it made a point; it was not just a zany extravaganza.

Walt Disney's "Melody Time" is a group of animated shorts strung together to make a feature-length show. It includes accounts of the exploits of Johnny Appleseed, Pecos Bill, and a tugboat named "Little Toot," the original of which you will find on your child's bookshelf. Live actors appear in some of the sequences and the defenders of pure animation have again been aroused. This may be a pressing artistic controversy, but more important, it seems to me, is the fact that Disney has traded his irreverent sense of humor for sentimentality and patriotism. If kidding is also to be termed subversive, we may soon be forced to hear a reformed Charlie McCarthy on the homely virtues of A. Lincoln or the importance of the toothbrush.

Too much of the humor in "Fric Frac" derives from French thieves' argot for an American audience to be completely happy. The personalities, however, are hard to resist. The picture includes Fernandel, who has a special talent for looking more like a horse than a horse; Michel Simon, who gives here his best recent performance as a loutish and reluctant gorilla; and Arletty, who plays very enticingly the kind of girl never permitted in American films. To be French, and therefore by definition hopelessly depraved, has its compensations.

You must, if you want to enjoy "Fric Frac," concentrate on this trio and never for an instant let your mind stray to the story. ROBERT HATCH

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Dangerous Talk

On top of the Russian offer to discuss world conditions with the United States comes the rumor that Great Britain tried to smooth differences with Russia over Germany at a secret huddle between Marshal Montgomery and Marshal Sokolovsky. This jittery world has enough on its mind now, without peace and speculation of peace. – *From the Albany (Georgia)* Herald.

Just in Case

United States people are firmly convinced of two points, Judge Richard C. Ebert, master of ceremonies, stated: "There will never again be another war, but, if there is, America will surely be prepared." – *From the Brainerd, Minnesota,* Daily Dispatch.

Magnanimous

COMMUNIST HAS RIGHT
TO WORK, BALL ASSERTS

– *Headline in the Minneapolis* Tribune.

Simple as ABC

Big business has started a drive to combat the "false impression" that prices retard sales. Dealers and retailers agree that prices themselves don't retard sales, that it's high living costs that retard sales. – *From the Oakland (California)* Tribune.

Sauce for the Duchess

They [the Duke and Duchess of Windsor] may have only two courses, but everything from seasoning to sauce, from salad dressing to wine temperature, is passionately discussed with their own or the hotel's chef. "Sometimes," said the Duchess with justifiable pride, "we've spent three hours just deciding on the correct kind of sauce to have." – *From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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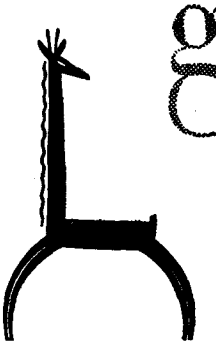

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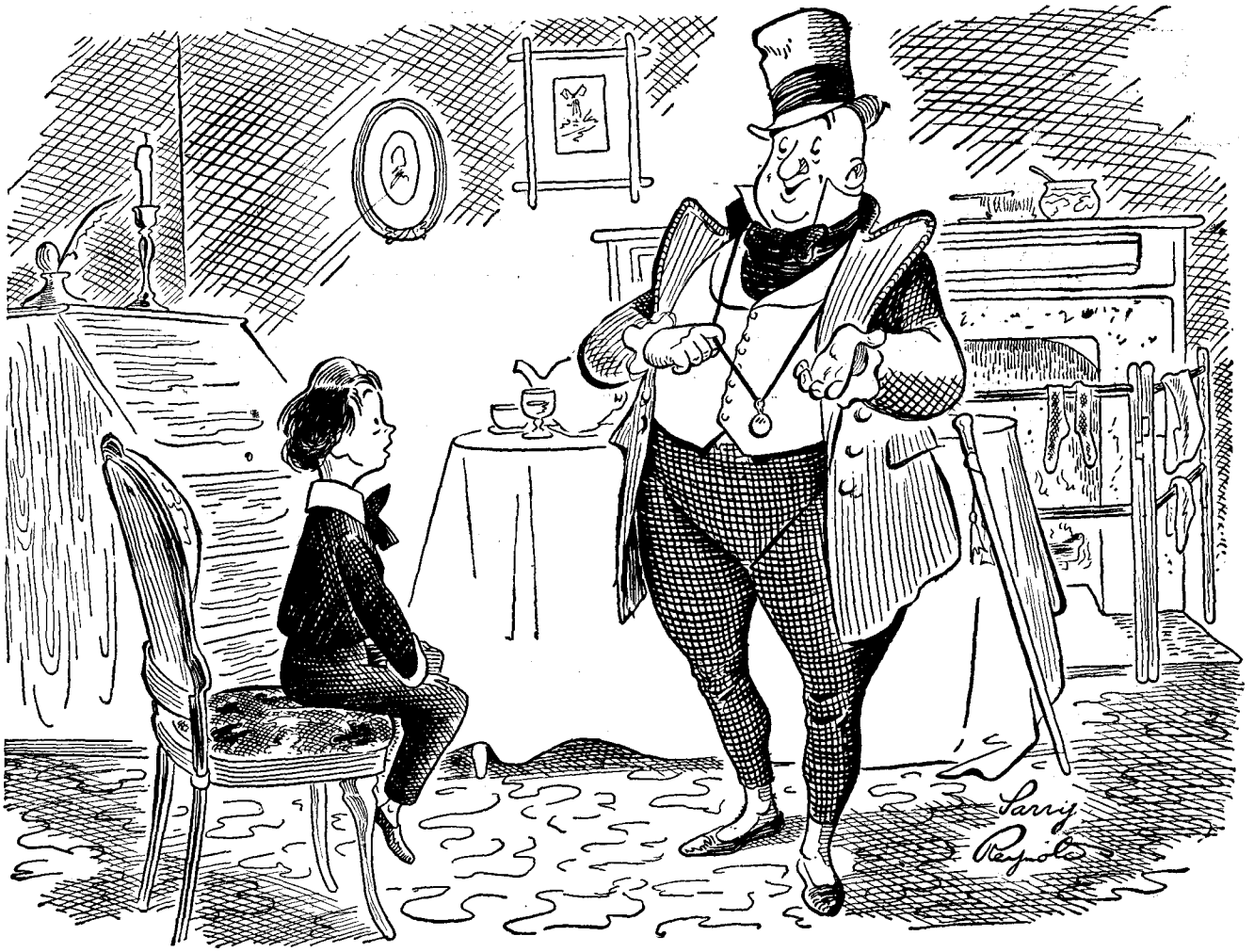

Mr. Micawber was only half-right!

MR. MICAWBER'S financial advice to young David Copperfield is justly famous.

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